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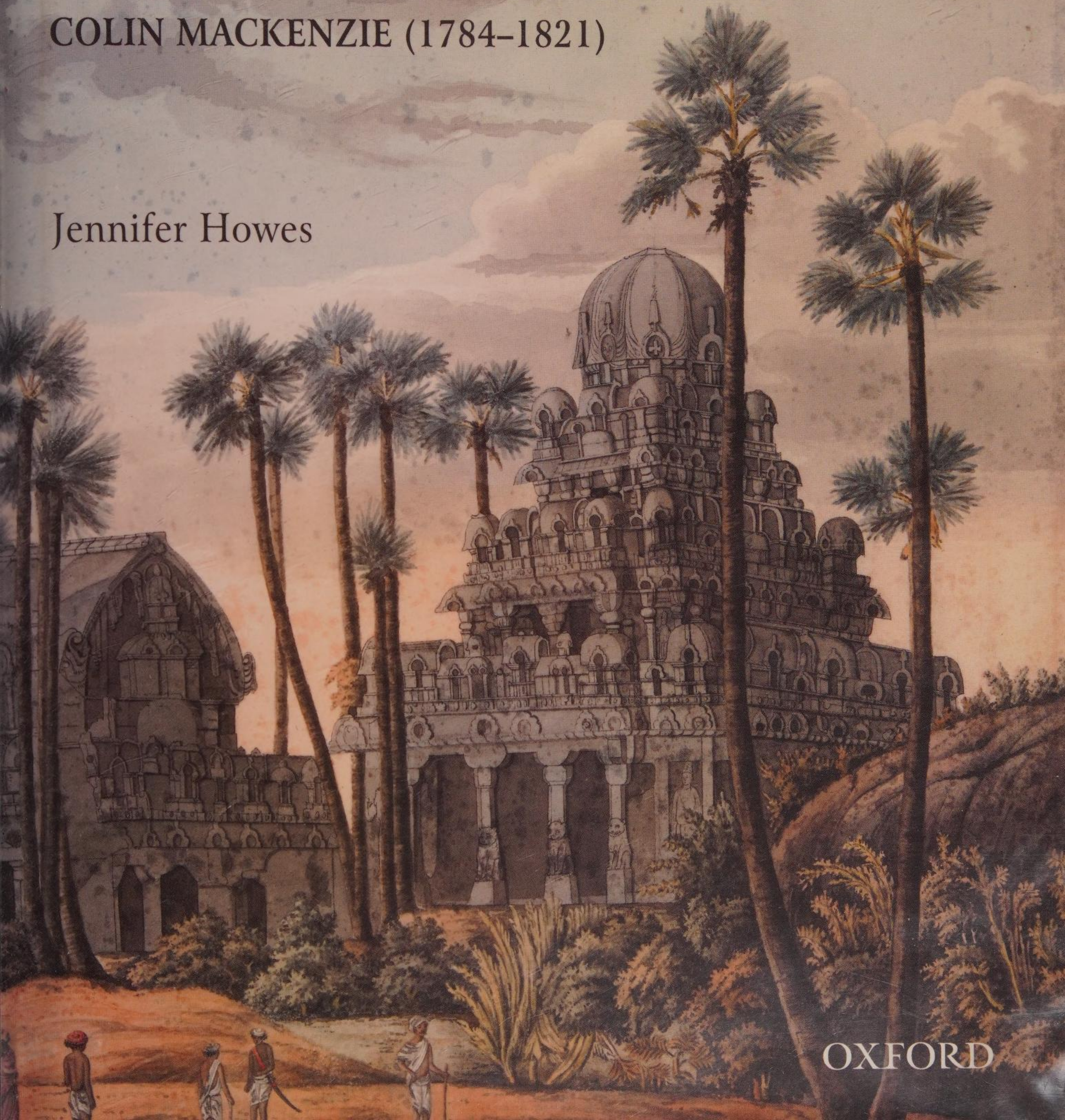
THE EARLY COLONIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF COLIN MACKENZIE (1784–1821)

Jennifer Howes



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THE EARLY COLONIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF COLIN MACKENZIE (1784–1821)

Illustrating India reveals for the first time a mine of unique and fascinating information on pre-colonial and early colonial India. The Mackenzie collection, assembled by Colin Mackenzie, the first Surveyor General of India, between 1784 and 1821, contains the oldest and largest known repository of pictorial documents on the history and culture of India to be gathered by a single European collector.

This book showcases monuments and shrines, sculpture, landscapes, caste groups and social structures as described in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India. Jennifer Howes' gripping narrative contextualizes the Mackenzie drawings and provides a broad view of the Indian subcontinent. She presents a graphic account of people and everyday life in Hyderabad and Mysore, along with interpretations of temples and their uses. Howes also highlights Mackenzie's investigations at Mahabalipuram, providing unique answers to some puzzling archaeological questions. Most importantly, she shows how Mackenzie's methods profoundly relied upon information gathered by his Indian assistants.

Besides drawings, Mackenzie collected manuscripts, unpublished letters and maps, and he published articles about his research. Howes includes biographical notes on military draftsmen and copyists who worked for Mackenzie and identifies many unknown artists. Delineating the illustrious career of a determined individual, the author also asks whether Mackenzie could be regarded as an Orientalist.

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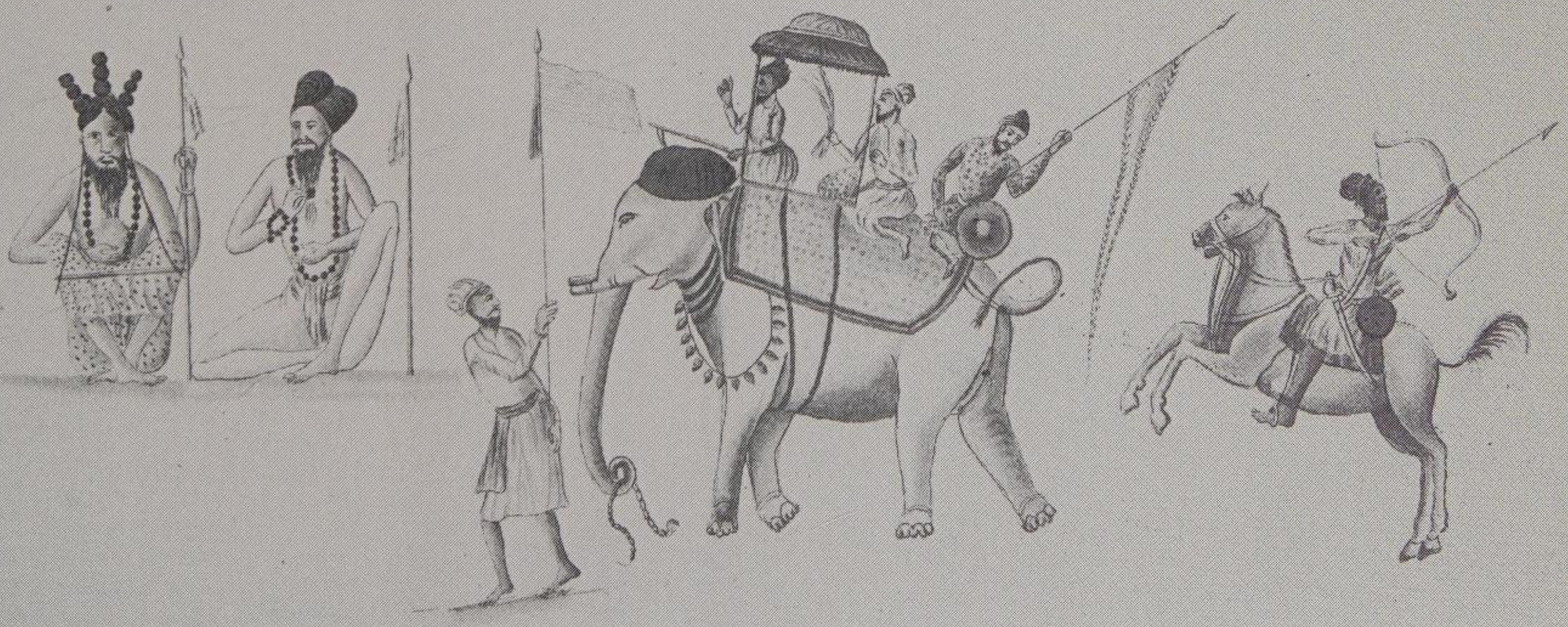

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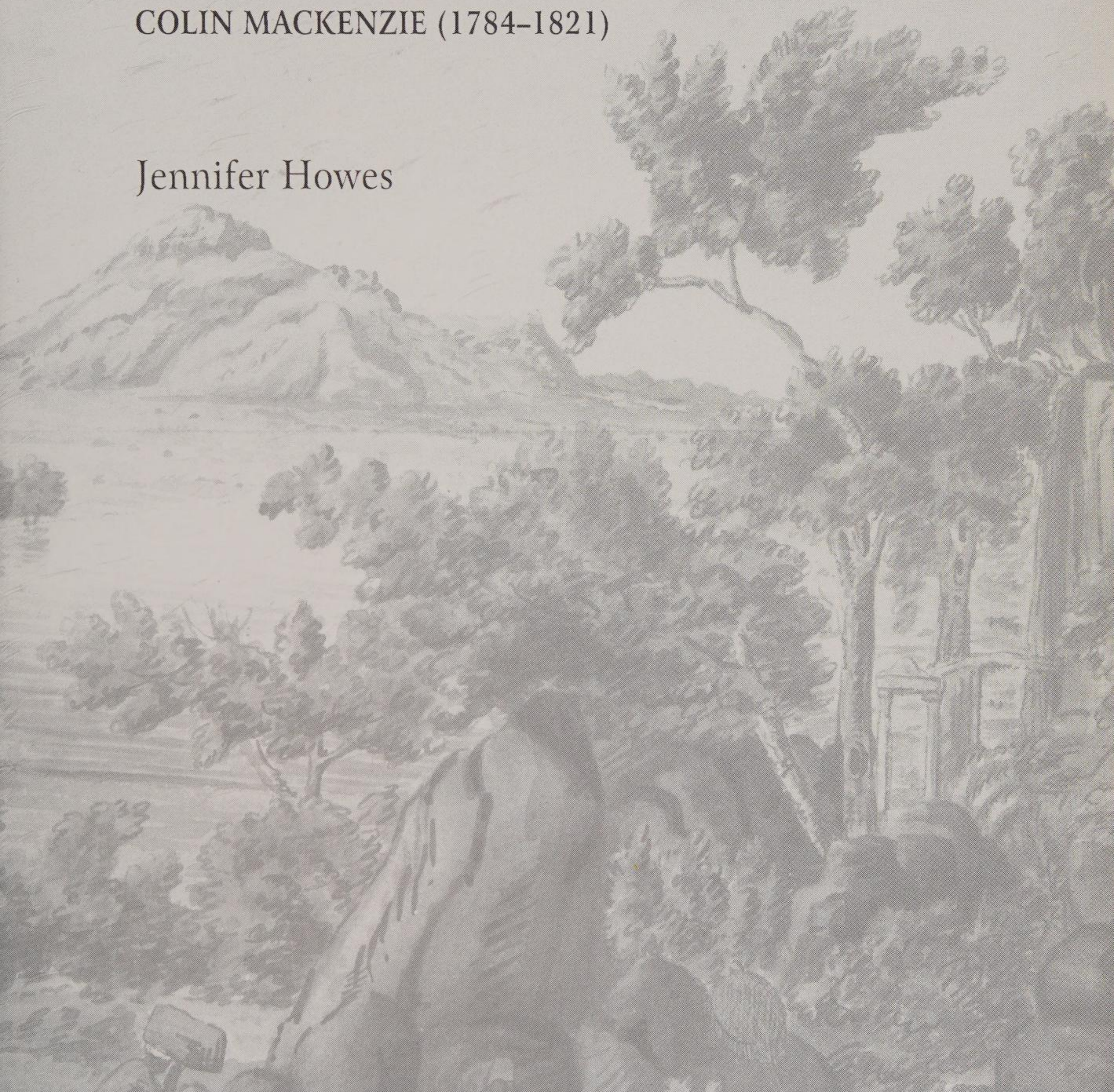

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Introduction

On 8 May 1821, Colin Mackenzie, the first Surveyor General of India, died while travelling by boat to the river Hughli, before the therapeutic sea air of the Bay of Bengal could help him recuperate. He was 69 years old and was survived by a young wife, an old maid sister, and an extensive establishment of draftsmen, translators, and surveyors. He also left behind a massive collection of manuscripts and drawings that he had intended to organize, but never did. In 1822, when Mackenzie's widow sold his collections to the East India Company, the task of cataloguing them fell into the hands of Horace Hayman Wilson. In Wilson's words, the Mackenzie Collection 'was formed at a considerable cost of time, labour and expence, which no individual exertions have ever before accumulated, or probably will again assemble. Its composition is of course very miscellaneous…the collector having done little or nothing towards a verification of its results…It is the more to be regretted that Col. Mackenzie did not live to execute some connected view of the principal facts his collection furnishes'.[1] Distanced from Mackenzie's original intentions, his formidable collections were long viewed as impossible to make sense of. However, in the last few decades, a handful of dedicated researchers have begun studying different parts of the Mackenzie Collection and have brought renewed interest to this enigmatic archive. Once seen as an incomprehensible antiquarian maze, the Mackenzie Collection is now considered a mine of unique and fascinating information on pre-colonial and early colonial India.

The purpose of this book is to make sense of the corpus of drawings collected by Colin Mackenzie during his four-decade career in India. There are over 1,700 Mackenzie drawings in the British Library alone. Hundreds more were deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta[2] and a few are in the Royal Asiatic Society's library in London.[3] The Mackenzie drawings evoke the life and work of a determined individual. Collected mainly in southern India, but also in north India, Sri Lanka, and Java, they form the largest and oldest extant archive of drawings to be gathered by a single European collector in Asia. Mildred Archer, the first curator to publish a catalogue of the British Library's Mackenzie drawings, noted that they had 'never been fully described, and, as a result, little notice has been taken of a large collection of visual material which not only illustrates many of Mackenzie's own manuscripts but also documents his career'.[4] It is my intention to expand our knowledge of the Mackenzie drawings, as per Mildred Archer's comments, by connecting them with the manuscripts, letters, maps, and published sources connected with Mackenzie's career. It is impossible to write about every single drawing in the Mackenzie Collection in this book, so I have written about certain sets of

drawings that benefit from a contextual analysis.[5] It is also impossible to talk about the drawings without looking at other aspects of Mackenzie's work, so the manuscripts, maps, translations, and publications he was responsible for, and the people who gathered the information on his behalf, are frequently mentioned.

Colin Mackenzie began collecting the drawings in 1783, when he first arrived in India at the age of 29, and was appointed as an engineer in the Madras Army (Plate 2). He was employed as a surveyor in Madras Presidency, and it was primarily during his extensive travels conducting military surveys from the 1780s until 1814 that he amassed the drawings, maps, and manuscripts that now constitute the Mackenzie Collection. His duties changed on numerous occasions during the late eighteenth century;[6] in 1799 he was put in charge of the Survey of Mysore. This monumental survey was the largest of its kind to be implemented by the East India Company until the Great Trigonometrical Survey began in 1817. The Mysore Survey led to Mackenzie's promotion as Surveyor General of Madras in 1810, and in 1815 he became the first Surveyor General of India and, as a result, his employment became less field-based. He continued to travel and had an atelier of assistants based in Calcutta who collated and copied his existing collections, as well as those gathered by his contemporaries and assistants. Many of his surveys and antiquarian investigations took place in areas that were previously unexplored by Europeans.

For most researchers looking at the Mackenzie Collection today, the importance of the drawings lies in their being unique pictorial documents which accompany a vast collection of written and cartographic material gathered in the early colonial period of Indian history. The variety of themes covered by the drawings show how one man struggled to understand and explain the history and culture of another part of the world both to himself and to a wider audience. His prime motivation was a personal desire to convey knowledge about Asian history and culture to his colleagues and to the British public. In a letter dated 28 February 1809, Mackenzie explained the purpose behind assembling his vast collections: 'It would be my ambition to carry home with me [a] body of materials that I conceive may be very interesting to the Public if properly brought forward, and it is my object now in remaining a few years longer [in India] to devote my chief attention to it'.[7] In other correspondence Mackenzie discussed his intention to write books and articles, and to contribute to his colleagues' research by sending them useful information.[8]

Mackenzie began assembling his collections almost immediately after his arrival in India in 1783, and continued collecting and organizing them right until his death in 1821. He was a man with a clear mission to help others study and learn about India. This is precisely why scholars, almost 200 years after his death, are now revisiting the Mackenzie Collection. It is recognized as one of the most important archival sources in existence about the late pre-colonial and the early colonial periods of Indian history. It is also the key to understanding how one person (and possibly others) gathered information about India. Before embarking on a detailed study of the Mackenzie drawings, one needs to consider the historical and biographical circumstances behind Mackenzie's decision to work in India as a surveyor, let alone to stay in India for four consecutive decades without once returning to his native Scotland. Second, one needs to establish how Mackenzie was perceived by himself and by others. Finally, one needs an idea of how a man who began his career as an ensign in the Madras Engineers managed to expand his time in India into an elaborate project to gather information, and how this project

was not possible without the help of both Indian and European assistants. Without his team of surveyors, draftsmen, copyists, and translators Mackenzie would have never been able to accumulate his vast collections.

Mackenzie's Background and the Decision to Stay in India

Very little is known about Colin Mackenzie's life before he came to India. He was born in 1754 on the Island of Lewis, in Scotland's Outer Hebrides. His father, Murdoch Mackenzie, was the postmaster of Stornoway. Murdoch and his wife Barbara had three other children, Mary, Alexander, and Kenneth. Alexander travelled to the West Indies in the late 1760s, and returned to Scotland 'after an unsuccessful sojourn of 33 years' in around 1800.[9] Mary remained in Lewis, never married, and was the only person in the immediate family to outlive Colin. As for Colin's younger brother, Kenneth, it is believed that he went to Canada.[10]

Little is known about Colin Mackenzie's early education. Generally speaking, we know that Scotland during the mid- to late-eighteenth century emerged as an important centre of learning. In the late seventeenth century Scotland's Presbyterian Church established what is today known as the 'Kirk'-based education system. Its aim was to ensure that all Scots should be able to read the Bible, but the ingenious side effect of this system was the elevation of Scotland's literacy levels to one of the highest in Europe. By the mid- to late-eighteenth century, an educated Scottish middle class had emerged which, thanks to the intellectual ferment of the Scottish Enlightenment, was moving beyond the constraints of the Presbyterian Church. Scotland's two key universities, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, became increasingly accessible to a new, mobile class of young men. Colin Mackenzie spent his formative years in Scotland under these unique social circumstances. Although there is no evidence that Mackenzie attended university before he went to India, it appears that his keen interest in mathematics, and the people who he met through this interest, led him to India.

Mackenzie departed for India in 1783 at the age of 29 as a volunteer in the 78th Seaforth Highlanders. Soon after his arrival he became an engineer in the Madras Army.[11] His admission into the East India Company's service was no doubt arranged through Lord Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, the Earl of Seaforth. The contrast between Scotland and India must have been overwhelming and the melancholy he felt for his native place is reflected in some of the letters he wrote to his friends. In one of these letters, written on 9 October 1810 to John Leyden, Mackenzie revealed his longing for his Scottish home and his knowledge of Gaelic.

> sometimes of a morning, waking from an impressive dream of past days, a clearer and stronger recollection of scenes far distant, and of persons long parted, appear to the 'minds eye' with a feeling that on no other occasions I can approach… I am therefore not surprised that 'the early calm hour' has been in all ages dear to poets and to sages—Several instances of this kind will occur to you and in my early Native Dialect I fondly recollect
>
> Nhaum dho duaska ar maiddhin
>
> S'mi Aiuanta er m'Challee
>
> S aun u yuindram mi' caidrrilh
>
> An't Seiod uhoum

> But how the deuce has this Gaelic Effusion stolen in upon me? I was going to write [to] you on business, to Calcutta in Bengal in the Eastern Indies, and here I find myself in the midst of the Lewes Forest, wailing the absence of Heroes and Chieftains long since departed.[12]

Amongst the maps in the Mackenzie Collection, there is one showing the Island of Lewis.[13] Its placement amongst the vast spread of maps from India makes it a poignant reminder of Mackenzie's distant home, which he was never to return to.

Mackenzie wrote to his British colleagues throughout his career in India, revealing his hopes and longing to return to Scotland before his death. In particular, he communicated regularly with his patron, the Earl of Seaforth, about a variety of matters. In a letter he wrote to Seaforth in 1796 he revealed why he stayed on in India during the early part of his career without returning to Britain on furlough.

> My appointment is handsome, exceeds my expences and I have been able to save a little against a rainy day in the West Highlands, but not enough to induce me to go home while I have health, tho've now have obtained permission for 3 years leave on our pay… I am not however of a turn of mind to despair and still hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at Brahan Castle, tho scarcely on the top of a hill in the Lewis Forest…[14]

Money was a common theme in Mackenzie's letters. He was clearly worth more to his family while earning a salary in India than he would have been in Scotland. He sent money home regularly, as is evidenced by numerous remittance letters to Thomas Anderson, his solicitor in London. For example, in a letter dated 1793 we learn of the following disbursements to his family.

> To be paid to the following friends of Captain Mackenzie at Stornoway
> His father Murdoch Mackenzie Senior…£ 50
> His sister Mary Mackenzie…25
> His aunt Mrs. Wyllie…10
> To be applied as Mr. Mackenzie of Seaforth thinks fit to pay his debts or repair the house and it is requested in the event of any casual charge or of any of the deaths of relations that Seaforth will direct the distribution of the sums as he may think best adverting to render their situation as comfortable as these can make them…35[15]

Besides being Mackenzie's patron and confidante, the Earl of Seaforth was also the landlord of the Isle of Lewis. Mackenzie's family must have been in debt to Seaforth, hence the disbursement of £35 mentioned at the end of the letter. The condition of the Mackenzie family's finances is not clear, but no doubt the money that Mackenzie sent back home was badly needed.

In another letter, addressed to the Earl of Seaforth in 1796, one month after the above remittance was posted to London, Mackenzie mentions his father's embarrassment regarding some unspecified financial difficulties.

> having just made a remittance to my friends the Andersons in the City I have requested them to remit you one hundred pounds for the use of my father and relations in the Lewis (directing them however to deduct from it any thing they may have remitted him this year) May I then request the favor of you to manage this business and direct some of your agents there to pay the money at stated periods or at once as may be most convenient—I mean that my father should have Forty Pounds my Sister Fifteen and my Aunt Mrs. Wyllie Five; the remainder to

> be disbursed in such manner as may be judged by yourself most convenient for my father; as I know he was a good deal embarrassed by the difficulties he has unavoidably labored under for some years I could wish it were applied to pay off some of the more urgent claims as I hope to discharge the whole in due time.[16]

One can infer from this letter that Mackenzie's family had accumulated debts which the Seaforth family had helped to pay off. This financial situation could have only made it more difficult for Mackenzie to return to Scotland. With such financial obligations at hand to a man as important as the Earl of Seaforth, it is no surprise that Mackenzie remained in India.

Besides finances, Mackenzie was torn between returning to Scotland to be with his family and staying in India to increase his collections and continue pursuing private gain. In a letter to Henry Traill, a London-based East India agent, Mackenzie wrote about an opportunity he passed up to return home in 1799 because 'my engagement in this work, and the highest gratification I feel in its success and Investigations encourage me to persevere to the end…My historical investigations are exceedingly gratifying'.[17] During the Mysore Survey, Mackenzie also wrote about his 'foolish wish of revisiting my native country while yet an old father of 80 years, a brother just returned from the West Indies…and other relations dear to me' were still alive.[18] Even when he was based in Calcutta, long after his parents and brother had died, Mackenzie was still talking about returning to Scotland. In a letter he wrote from Calcutta in 1819 he describes how, in spite of his promotion to Surveyor General of India in 1815, he was apprehensive about returning to Scotland because of the condition of his finances.

> My removal from Madras tho' highly creditable has not improved my fortune; on the contrary these five years have made great sacrifices by the change in forming and removing five different establishments. My house at Madras that cost me 10,000 Pagodas has not been rented till December last, and I cannot get it immediately disposed of so on the whole my finances have been injured by this honourable selection by my honourable masters. Our establishment here you will conceive is expensive; we however continue to keep within my income, but at my time of life I ought to be thinking of returning to Britain….[19]

Added to this, by the time he had moved to Calcutta his health was failing, he was married to a woman who had never lived outside of Asia, and he was in the thick of organizing his vast collections with the help of a large team of assistants, many of whom he regarded as family.

Mackenzie's Identity

Because Mackenzie went to India as a military engineer, his career was entwined with the military history of that period. His two largest pieces of work were the Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions (1792–8) and the Mysore Survey (1799–1810). These two surveys were organized following British military campaigns which stemmed from colonial rivalries with France before and during the French Revolution. The purpose of the surveys was to designate political borders around territories controlled by Indian rulers. After the Third Mysore War, in 1792, the kingdom of Mysore ceded Cudappah and Kurnool to the Nizam of Hyderabad, thus initiating the need for the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions. Likewise, at the end of the Fourth Mysore War in 1799, it was necessary to determine the boundaries of the reinstated Wodeyar kingdom of Mysore. Mackenzie's survey work was also occasionally interrupted by military

duties. For example, in 1793, in the midst of his survey work in the Nizam of Hyderabad's territories, he was called away to the Siege of Pondicherry and in 1798 he joined the British forces during the Fourth Mysore War. In May 1799 he commanded the main sieges that led to the capture of Srirangapattnam.

On two occasions his survey work was interrupted when he was sent overseas in response to the events in Europe connected with the Napoleonic Wars. In 1794 Napoleon invaded the Netherlands and William of Orange fled to Britain. Britain's response to this was to take over Dutch overseas territories to ensure they did not fall under French control. In 1795 Mackenzie was sent to Sri Lanka to assist the successful military expedition to Colombo. Although he was unhindered by overseas military obligations during the Mysore Survey, almost immediately after its completion, in 1811, the French occupied Batavia, the capital of Java. Mackenzie was enlisted to command Britain's invading forces in Java to rid the island of French control. In 1812 the Java campaign ended with Britain successfully gaining control of the island, and Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles' short, colourful governorship commenced.

Mackenzie's identity as a military man is clearly expressed in his portrait, which was painted by Thomas Hickey in Madras in 1816. In this portrait Mackenzie stands wearing his military uniform, with a sword resting at his right side and a walking stick in his left hand (Plate 1). This oil painting clearly symbolizes how Mackenzie wanted his career to be viewed by others.[20] It was commissioned by Mackenzie and painted by Hickey some time between September 1816 and May 1818, before Colin Mackenzie left Madras for Calcutta to take up his post as Surveyor General of India. Hickey was based in Madras between 1812 and 1824 so this is certainly where the painting was created. The painting did not come straight to East India House from India; it passed through the hands of Henry Traill, Mackenzie's London-based agent, who gave it to East India House in 1822.[21] It is unclear when or how Mackenzie gave the portrait to Traill, who was professionally connected with Paxtons, Cockerell, Traill and Co., a London-based firm of East India Agents. It seems their families were connected and that Traill employed Mackenzie's older brother, Alexander, in some capacity.[22]

Hickey's portrait not only reveals how Mackenzie wished to be represented, but it also shows what he wanted others to know about his career. Mackenzie stands proudly at the centre of the picture wearing his Company uniform, surrounded by three Indian men who presumably worked for him as translators.[23] A sword hangs from Mackenzie's left side, and on his right side he leans against a walking stick. The man on Mackenzie's left holds a palm leaf manuscript, as does the man standing on Mackenzie's far right. The man standing on Mackenzie's immediate right stares out of the picture. The presence of these three men, two of whom hold palm leaf manuscripts, shows that Mackenzie valued his Indian translators and acknowledged their contribution towards his project through the translation and interpretation of indigenous sources. Through the hard work of these men, Mackenzie collected many palm leaf manuscripts, over 500 of which were deposited in the Madras College Library at Madras in 1830.[24] These men, and the palm leaf manuscripts they hold, pictorially represent Mackenzie's attitude towards indigenous sources of knowledge. Whilst Mackenzie was involved with European antiquarian scholars in Madras and Calcutta, his work relied on the acknowledged contributions of his Indian translators.

Mackenzie was a tall man of tremendous strength, even during the latter part of his career. One of the only written descriptions of Mackenzie that recalls his size and strength, dated 1811, is an amusing account of his height in comparison with the European men he worked with in Java.

> In order that we might not excite any particular notice while on shore, Col. Mackenzie and I dressed ourselves as seamen. When thus equipped for the expedition the Colonel, who stood 6 ft. 2 inches, cut a ludicrous figure in a jacket and trousers belonging to the Captain [of the ship], which reached about half way down his long Lismabago limbs…[25]

The account goes on to describe an unexpected encounter with the enemy during the Java campaign, and the energy that Mackenzie possessed when he was 57 years of age.

> As the enemy were close upon us, and as Col. Mackenzie was an old man, and might be in possession of papers which would show the object of our Landing, the first idea that occurred to me was to rifle his pockets and leave him to his fate, never supposing that he would escape from our younger and, as I supposed, more nimble pursuers. But when I observed him taking at least 3 yards at a stride, I saw that, however ill-disposed he might be on ordinary occasions to fly from an enemy, nature had amply provided him with the means when necessary; in fact, that the agility of his heels was fully equal to the strength of his heart…
>
> We retreated with precipitation to the boats… the Colonel's height was again of considerable use to him; for while I was obliged to swim some distance, he strode along, like Gulliver among the Lilliputian Fleet.[26]

Mackenzie possibly commanded tremendous respect from his colleagues because of his size and strength. He certainly possessed the stamina to endure long stretches of fieldwork, and for this ability alone, he probably gained the respect of his colleagues.

Mackenzie's Project and Assistants

At the beginning of Mackenzie's career in India, he was a low-ranking engineer who actively worked in the field. As a result, he was the key artist who contributed to his collections during the 1780s and into the 1790s. In early 1789 he was promoted from Ensign to Lieutenant[27] and in 1793 he became a Captain. With each promotion his resources increased; by the beginning of the Mysore Survey, he was able to employ a draftsman to accompany him on surveys. After the Mysore Survey Mackenzie was able to employ additional draftsmen and also began employing copyists based at Fort St George. In 1817, when Mackenzie moved to Calcutta, he brought with him some of his Madras-based assistants and hired additional copyists in Calcutta. These men were Mackenzie's close colleagues, some of whom he regarded as close family members. They were variously of European, Indian, and Anglo-Indian parentage, and the tasks they performed tended to be racially determined. Assistants of European descent tended to be engineers and surveyors, Indians were employed as translators, *harkaras*(informants) or copyists, and Anglo-Indians were draftsmen or copyists.

Perhaps the most defining characteristic of Mackenzie's work in India was his sense of objectivity. His Indian translators produced copies of local historical manuscripts that many of his contemporaries viewed as insignificant myths and legends. As far back as the 1780s he relied on and trusted his Indian translators to provide him with information that would help himself,

his European colleagues, and ultimately, he hoped, the East India Company's Court of Directors in London to gain a clearer understanding of Indian history. Most of the recent research that interprets the nature of the Mackenzie Collection has characterized it as expressing a strong western biased, colonial interpretation of India.[28] Of course, it is unavoidable that material collected by a Scottish military engineer employed by the East India Company would exhibit a western, colonial perspective, but this position has been overstated. The chief evidence for this overstated argument is Colin Mackenzie's letter to Alexander Johnston written on 1 February 1817. This letter was first published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (volume 1), and was later republished in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (volume 2, 1835). Horace Hayman Wilson also quoted extracts from it in the introduction to his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*. Perhaps because it was published so many times, Mackenzie's letter to Johnston has become a seminal, frequently quoted document for researchers seeking to understand his career in India.

Before analysing the content of this letter, it is important to understand the context under which it was written. In particular, what was Mackenzie's relationship with Alexander Johnston, and how might this relationship have influenced the content of Mackenzie's letter? The first line of the letter reads,

> No one can have a fairer claim than yourself to expect some account, however concise, of the nature of those inquiries in which, you are aware, my curiosity, if not my attachment to useful research, has induced me to embark, for a great part of the term of a residence in India which has now extended to several years.[29]

Alexander Johnston (1775–1849) was a judge who was based in Ceylon from 1799 to 1819. In 1799 he took up the post of Advocate-General, after working in Lincoln's Inn. In 1805 he became the Chief Justice of Ceylon, and in 1811 he was knighted by the Prince of Wales. In 1817, the year that Mackenzie wrote his letter, Johnston was appointed Admiralty Judge of Ceylon. Johnston was well known for the reforms he advocated in Ceylon, in areas such as the emancipation of slaves, universal popular education, and the public employment of 'natives and half-castes'. The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that the jury system in Ceylon founded by Johnston was mentioned in Jeremy Bentham's *Works*.[30]

As a child, Alexander Johnston lived in Madurai, where his father, Samuel Johnston, was employed from 1781 to 1792. It was during his childhood in Madurai that Johnston met Mackenzie for the first time. Johnston was taught by Thomas Munro, as well as the famous missionary, Reverend R.F. Schwartz. His studies included learning Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani. In 1792, when he was a teenager, he returned to England with his family, and on the advice of Lord Macartney, began studying law.[31] At the beginning of Mackenzie's letter of 1817,[32] when he says that Johnston deserves to know more than anyone else about the nature of his enquiries over the years, he is addressing someone who, as a boy at the beginning of his education, saw Mackenzie at the beginning of his career in India.

In the letter Mackenzie laments his lack of knowledge of Indian languages and feels it necessary to explain to Johnston that his engagement in different campaigns, which required him to move to different parts of the south, made it difficult for him to focus on the study of any one particular language. He winds up this explanation by saying that 'from the evils of famine,

penury and war, the land was slowly emerging; and it struggled long under the miseries of bad management, before the immediate administration of the south came under the benign influence of the British government'.[33] This passage has been interpreted as proof that Mackenzie firmly saw British rule as the key to civilizing India.[34] Mackenzie probably did believe that the actions of the British in India were ultimately good, but one must remember that this letter was addressed to a judge who was famous for the numerous reforms he had implemented in Sri Lanka. To have suggested that British rule in South Asia was problematic or unjust to the head of Colombo's Supreme Court would have been foolish.

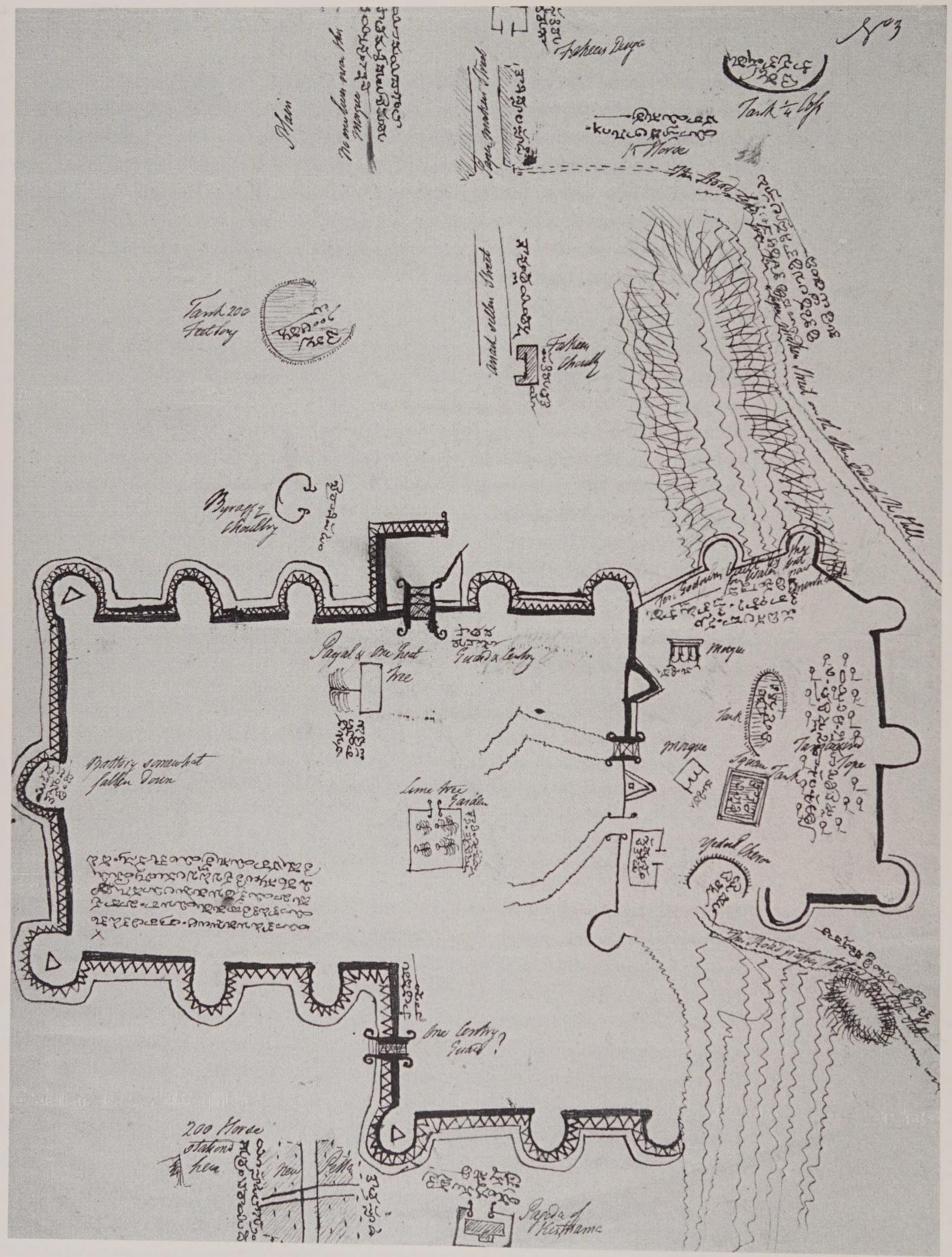
Quoting the letter to Alexander Johnston as evidence of Mackenzie placing European ways on a moral high ground over Indian ways is not entirely accurate. Throughout the Mackenzie Collection, Indian modes of interpretation are valued and respected. There are also several instances in Mackenzie's private correspondence where he expressed abhorrence towards the European rulers of Madras. In one letter, dated 14 October 1801, he wrote, 'I have no interest with the managing people at Madras about the Governor and particularly in the Military Department; Mr. Webbe [Mackenzie's friend] is the only one I could solicit without repugnance to my own feelings'.[35] In another letter dated 21 July 1806 he said, 'I know not what to think of the present system at Madras (if they have any system at all)'.[36] Comments like these surely do not reflect admiration for the East India Company's European administration in Madras.

The starting point of Mackenzie's interest in Indian modes of interpretation was probably Mackenzie's association with Alexander Johnston's parents, soon after he arrived in India in 1783. Johnston wrote as follows.

> Wishing to have his assistance in arranging the materials which she [Johnston's mother] had collected, she and my father invited him to…Madura early in 1783, and there father introduced him to all the Brahmins and other literary natives who resided at that place.…Mr. Mackenzie… soon discovered that the most valuable materials for a history of India might be collected,… and his residence at Madura first formed the plan of making that collection that afterwards became…his pursuit for 38 years of his life, and which is now the most…valuable collection of historical documents relative to India that ever made by any individual.[37]

Mackenzie's formal associations with Indian intellectuals began in 1796 when he made the acquaintance of Kavali Venkata Boriah Brahmin, a talented and learned young Telugu man who became Mackenzie's first translator. Within a few years, Mackenzie employed a small atelier of brahmins to translate manuscripts into English and to record oral histories gathered in the field. At least 17 other Indian assistants worked for him as translators between 1803 and 1821.[38] There was no institutionalized pattern for hiring translators at that point in time. When Mackenzie had the means to employ a new translator he tended to hire a relative of someone who already worked for him. For example, Mackenzie employed Boriah's two younger brothers, Kavali Venkata Laksmiah and Kavali Venkata Ramaswami. The Kavali brothers were Niyogi Brahmins,[39] as were a large number of other assistants in Mackenzie's employment.[40]

Most of the signed drawings collected before 1799 were by Mackenzie, with the exception of a small number of pictures, such as one of Gwalior fort commemorating a military campaign in 1780.[41] Amongst this small set of conclusively non-Mackenzie drawings there is a set of maps by an anonymous Telugu artist dated August 1788. These four maps are the earliest extant proof


Tank 200 Feet long
Broad Main Street
Byraggy Choultry
Pagoda & One Great Tree
Lime tree Garden
Battery somewhat fallen down
One Century Guard?
200 Horse stables here
Mosque
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of Mackenzie relying on Indian informants to gather information (Map 1). According to the labelling on the first drawing in the set, they were made by a harkara[42] and they show places encountered during a 'march to take possession of Guntoor Circar' at Ongole, in modern day Andhra Pradesh.[43] The maps show the locations of fortresses, temples, tanks, mosques, houses, roads, and gardens. They are labelled with Telugu inscriptions, some of which have been translated into English, containing information of military importance. The English inscription on one of the Telugu maps (Map 1) mentions a place along a fortress wall that is guarded by a sentry. Another area is indicated where 200 horses are stationed. One of the Telugu inscriptions on the same map apparently indicates the strategic weak points of a fortress wall.[44] Such information clearly held a military function because it would have assisted with capturing the fort. The harkara maps differ from western maps in numerous ways, but perhaps most conspicuously, they do not make use of scale and the cardinal directions.

These maps are direct evidence of Indian participation in British survey work in the 1780s. Harkara maps such as these might have been a common aspect of eighteenth-century British surveys in India, but because they led to the production of maps using western cartographic schemata, they were probably not saved. Mackenzie wrote that 'Guntoor has been a subject of important Political discussion before my arrival in India, but no trace of any attempt to survey existed in 1788 when the detachment under Lieut Colonel Ellington was sent to resume possession of it from the Nizam. At that time I was employed to survey the roads marched by the Detachment, and the principal Forts'.[45] This clearly shows that no surveys had yet been conducted in this area. Some kind of local assistance from the harkaras was absolutely necessary in areas the British had never explored.

It is important here to distinguish between the role of an informant and a translator. Mackenzie would have employed local informants to produce the harkara maps just described earlier. The English inscriptions were probably added to the maps by one of Mackenzie's translators at a later date. Informants and translators were both necessarily Indians and could both be regarded as assistants, although they worked in completely different capacities. Harkaras were local people recruited in the field in the midst of a survey and translators were men who accompanied Mackenzie during the surveys. In the words of one of Colin Mackenzie's translators, Kavali Venkata Ramaswami, '[t]he extensive mass of literary materials collected for that indefatigable and meritorious officer, was procured under the superintendence of my elder brothers and myself', and the sites where the material was collected were visited by them personally.[46]

During the late eighteenth century there was a shortage of trained military draftsmen in Madras Presidency. When Mackenzie arrived in India in 1783 there was nowhere in Madras that offered training in military draftsmanship and this had a detrimental impact on the staffing of the Madras Engineers. The first Chief Engineer of Madras was John Call (1732–1802), who was appointed to the post in 1761. During his tenure there were serious shortages of military engineers in Madras Presidency. In order to build up his survey team, John Call encouraged more young people to enlist with his corps.[47] Unfortunately for Call, the chances of promotion among the engineers were not as promising as they were in the military, so good surveyors frequently left the engineers to join the military. The Madras Council was aware of the lack of incentive for men to become engineers and how this affected Call's ability to retain qualified men. The East India

Company's Directors had to appoint people in Britain for employment in the corps and, in this way, Patrick Ross (1740–1804) came to be appointed as Call's successor in 1770.

Patrick Ross inherited Call's staffing problems, but in 1789 he took a step towards remedying his corps' shortage of recruits by becoming the Sub-Director of the newly established Madras Orphan Asylum at Madras. In a letter dated 29 September 1789, Ross wrote, 'I… accept the appointment of one of the Sub Directors of the Madras Orphan Asylum—which I assent to with pleasure, conceiving it to be the duty of every member of the community to assert in promoting so laudable a Charity'.[48] From that time onward, the Madras Engineers recruited a great deal of their junior surveyors from the Madras Male Orphans Asylum.[49] The school was opened in 1789 with the intention of educating and maintaining 'the orphan and distressed male children of the European Military'[50] and proposed to make them into good subjects, good men, and good Christians. All the children from the asylum were considered to be 'native' by virtue of being born in India, regardless of whether they were of mixed race or not. When the school was set up, the utility of educating 'half-caste' children was discussed. It was debated whether such children were inferior to those of non-mixed race, and if so, whether this inferiority could be attributed to race or environment.

> It has long been said that the half-cast children of this country show an evident inferiority in the talents of the head, the qualities of the mind, and the virtues of the heart. I will not enter into the question, how far government, or climate, and perhaps complexion as connected with climate, influence the character of the human race...[but]...I think I see, in the very first maxims which the mothers of these children instil into their infant minds, the source of every corrupt practice, and an infallible mode of forming a degenerate race.[51]

It was hoped that through an equal upbringing, all the students of the Madras Orphan Asylum would become equally productive members of society, regardless of their parentage.

In 1794 a Surveying School was established in Madras at the prompting of Michael Topping (1747–1796), a prominent astronomer and maritime surveyor in the late eighteenth century. The school's first pupils were students from the Madras Orphan Asylum. In Topping's letter, where he proposed the school's establishment, he gave the following recommendations.

> Ten or twelve practitioner surveyors will be wanted…They might be raised in the following manner. From the Male Asylum and other English schools at this Presidency, a number of youths might be selected. These might be regularly trained to the business of practical surveying: first in the office, for the sake of a few rudiments; and afterwards in real field practice, under such gentlemen as are employed in actual surveys who…would cheerfully undertake to prepare them for future service, by receiving them as their daily assistants.
>
> Either this expedient must be adopted, or the same number of practical Surveyors must be sent to this country from Europe.…My reasons for preferring Native Assistants to Europeans are the following.
>
> First, every European…would cost the Company as much, at least, as six Natives; besides tents, conveyances, and a liberal allowance, each European practitioner must have an Interpreter to attend him…
>
> Secondly, each European would require a long and previous seasoning, before he could sustain the rigors of an Indian sun and climate; it is indeed hardly to be expected that one European

> in ten, after leaving Europe at a mature age, could be brought to endure, for a constancy, the fatigues of so laborious an employ in the torrid zone....
>
> The Indian born offspring of Europeans, educated in the public schools at Madras, might be rendered very useful to the public, and happy in themselves if, instead of being suffered to fall a sacrifice to idleness and vicious course...some line of active employment were to be marked out for them.[52]

In June 1794, 12 boys from the Madras Orphan Asylum were apprenticed to the East India Company for seven years as the first pupils of the Company's Surveying School at Madras. More students were indentured in 1798 and 1800. The practice of apprenticing boys from the Madras Orphan's Asylum into the local workforce thus began in 1794. From this pool of educated, destitute young men, some were chosen for training in the Madras Surveying School, from where Mackenzie obtained many of his assistants.

In December 1796, three students of the Surveying School were sent to Dindigal as Assistant Revenue Surveyors to test their ability to function in the field. Charles Webb was aged 14, Robert Gardner was 15, and John Ambrose Johnson was 17. They were supplied with a tent and lascars for their garrison and were to be supervised by an Inspector of Revenue Surveys. Dindigal was ceded to the East India Company in 1792, following the events of the Third Mysore War. Its hot, arid climate was regarded as healthy, so this post was probably not perceived as difficult or dangerous. The boys were perhaps not adequately prepared for their foray into the field, for in spite of their 'native born' constitutions, by 1798 Charles Webb and Robert Gardner were both dead. Through such grim instances of trial and error, the Survey School at Madras must have worked out how to most efficiently make use of its trainees.[53]

Many of the young men employed by Mackenzie had previously been educated at the Madras Orphan Asylum and the Surveying School at Madras. In September 1799 several of the Survey School's students were posted to work under Mackenzie on the Mysore Survey.[54] Some of Mackenzie's assistants who we know came from the Madras Orphan's Asylum were William Lantwar, John Gould, John Mustie, and John Newman.[55] Of these, Lantwar joined the earliest, with Gould, Mustie, and Newman being in Mackenzie's active employment by about 1815–16. Others, such as Benjamin Swain Ward, attended English schools elsewhere in the Presidency, but later attended the Surveying School. Most of the drawings collected during the Mysore Survey are unsigned, and those that are signed generally bear the signature of a copyist who produced facsimiles after the Mysore Survey. One surveyor who we know something about, but who did not sign any of the Mackenzie drawings, was William Lantwar. As a boy, he was a student at the Madras Orphan Asylum, until he was apprenticed to the East India Company in the 1790s.[56] In 1799 he was employed as a writer and in 1807 he began working with Mackenzie as a surveyor. In 1808 John Newman was apprenticed to Lantwar who taught him how to be a copyist. In June 1808 Mackenzie wrote to Lantwar about Newman, 'He should remain some months with you for instructions in Practical Geometry and afterwards in the easier first branches of surveying, in order to qualify him the better for being a Draftsman of Plans, Maps and Surveys...'[57]

By 1813 Newman was experienced in the field and accompanied Mackenzie on his tour of the Upper Provinces. Mackenzie described him as 'one of the best draftsmen' in his employment.[58]

He was probably of mixed race because Mackenzie referred to him as a 'half-caste'.[59] We know less about John Gould and John Mustie but, no doubt, they were trained in the same way as Newman. Mustie and Newman followed Mackenzie to Calcutta in 1817, while Gould apparently remained in Madras. Most of the Mackenzie drawings are unsigned, but the small percentage of signed drawings in the collection make it possible to establish the names of many draftsmen and copyists who contributed to the Mackenzie Collection. The further one explores the names of these individual artists, the more these artists overlap into a tangle of original field drawings and copies of these originals that were taken at a later date. Sometimes several copies of the same original exist, but the original from which the copies were made is missing. Sometimes we know the names of both the original field artist and the copyist, and other times we are missing the names of one, the other, or both.

Drawing was a standard pastime for British soldiers in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[60] At the beginning of Mackenzie's career in India, he occupied himself by drawing landscapes of the various places he visited. These early pictures by Mackenzie were the beginnings of the collection. One drawing dated 1783, soon after his arrival in India, (see Plate 2) was made during the war in the provinces of Dindigal and Coimbatore in 1783 and marks the first military campaign that Mackenzie was involved with in India.[61] He signed and dated a prolific number of drawings between 1783 and 1797 that mainly document his early work in southern Tamil Nadu and his survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions in the 1790s. Many of these drawings connect with papers that Mackenzie published in journals such as Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* and the early issues of *Asiatick Researches* and the *Asiatic Annual Register*.[62] Although many of the Mackenzie drawings dated during the 1780s and the 1790s were not signed, it is safe to say that Mackenzie was the artist who drew them. The early Mackenzie drawings that were later worked into watercolours are probably fair copies made in the early nineteenth century by one of his copyists, based on the original eighteenth-century sketches by Mackenzie (Fig. 1 and Plate 3).

As has been shown by the Telugu maps in the Mackenzie Collection dated 1788, Mackenzie did not exclusively collect drawings by draftsmen and copyists trained in European survey techniques. He also collected drawings by Indian artists that show distinctively Indian modes of representation. For example, one can compare a surveyor's plan of Ramesvaram island in Tamil Nadu that was collected by Mackenzie in 1789 with a drawing of the same place by an Indian artist (Map 2 and Fig. 2). The surveyor's drawing clearly shows the bridge of rocks that one had to cross in order to travel from the main land to Ramesvaram island. It also shows the road that continues eastward, after crossing the bridge, leading to the temple. The drawing by the Indian artist is accompanied by a passage in Tamil. The picture by the Indian artist does not aim to map the coastline, but instead shows the significant buildings in the Ramalingesvara Temple as they would be approached by a pilgrim walking eastward along the same road shown on the map. The temple's linga appears on the left side and the shrine of Siva's consort is on the right. Two figures stand attentively next to the linga shrine. The translated Tamil description of this drawing

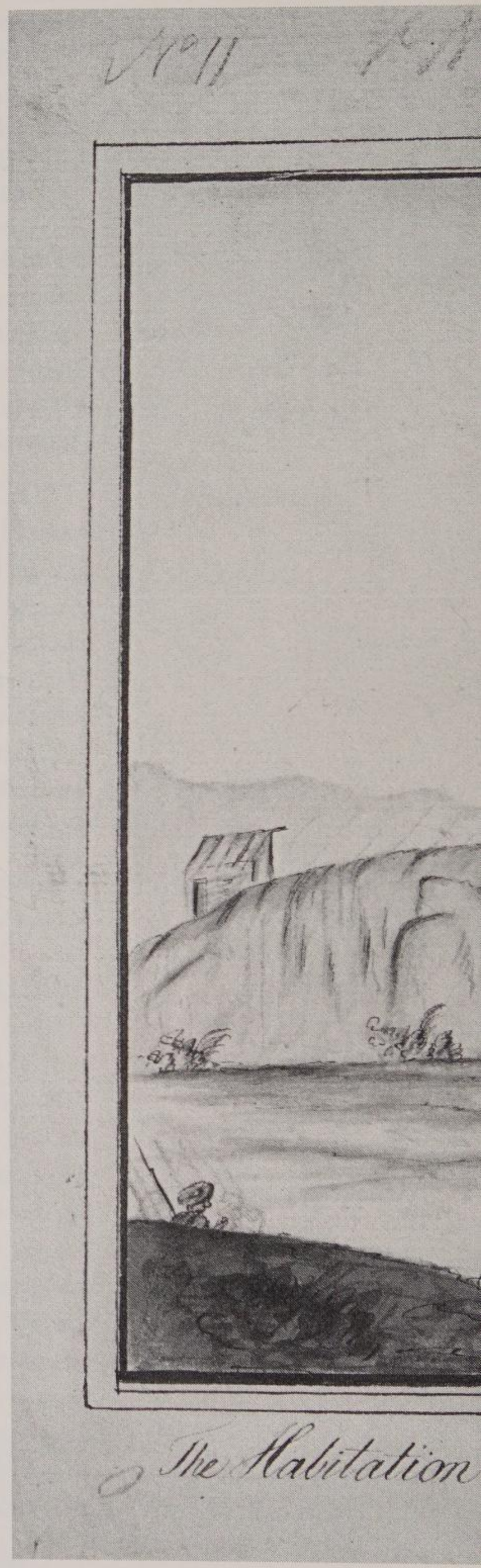
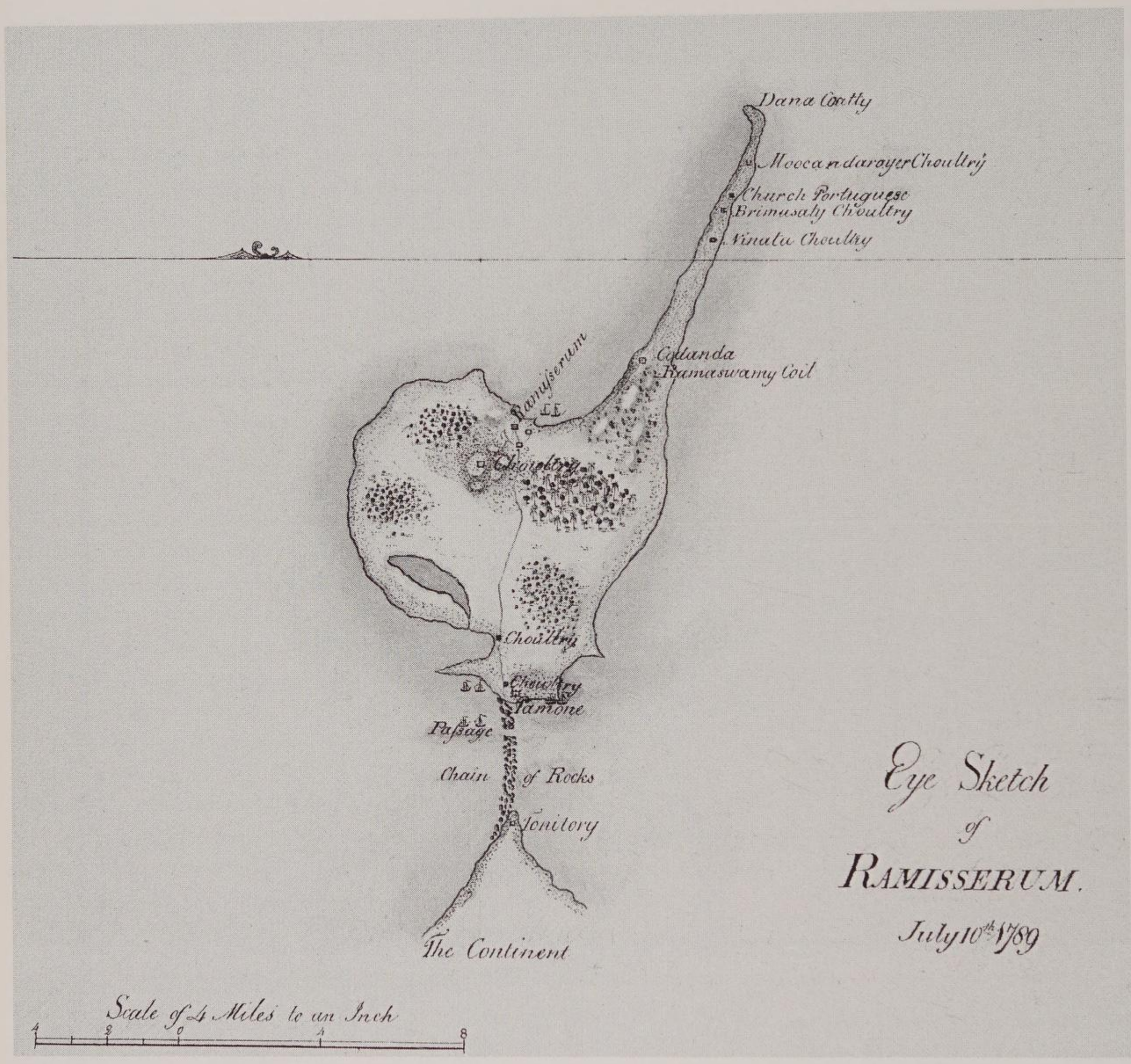


Fig. 1. A sketch dated May 1784 by Colin Mackenzie, showing a Faqir's home in Periyakulam, Dindigal District. Colour annotations are given in pencil so the picture could be worked into a fair copy at a later date (WD796)



Map 2. A map of Ramesvaram island by a military surveyor, dated 10 July 1789 (WD796)

says that these two figures are Rama performing puja, and his brother, Lakshmana, holding his bow and quiver. It also identifies Hanuman, standing between the shrines of Siva and Parvati, as holding a linga from Kashi. There are many wells known as *tirthas* (a crossing point or place of pilgrimage) inside the temple compound. It is the custom for pilgrims to hire a local person to draw water out of these wells for the pilgrims to wash themselves. Some of these wells are represented in the picture, and the accompanying text identifies the names of some of them. For example, the well below the figure of Hanuman is identified as the Hanuman Tirtham. Another well, which shows a devotee standing next to it being illustrated by a bucket of water, is identified as the Lakshmi Tirtham.

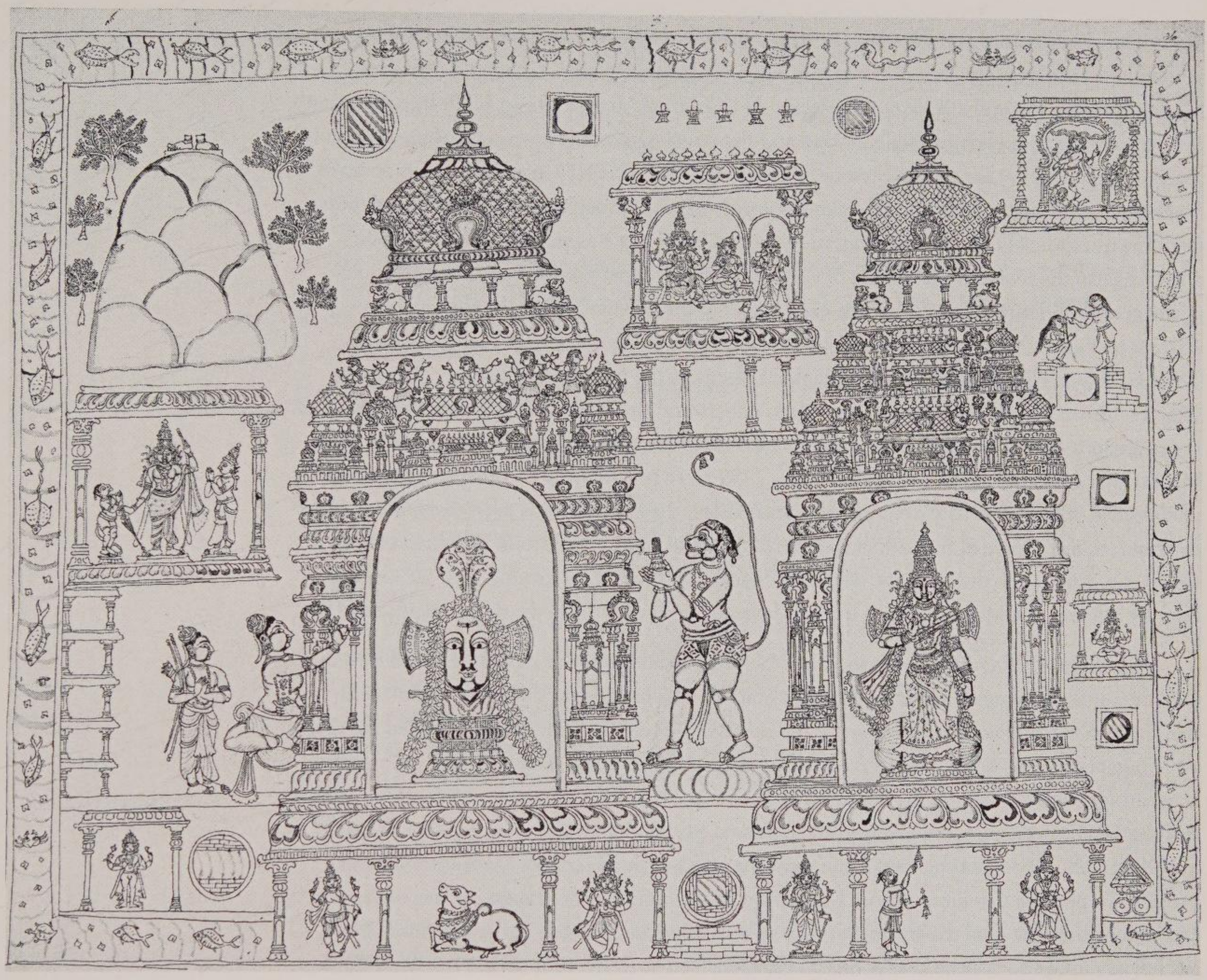


Fig. 2. A drawing of Ramesvaram island by a Tamil artist, *c.* 1816 (Add.29324, f.36)

Several important features of Ramesvaram island that are found outside the Siva temple are also identified. In the upper left hand corner of the composition there is a picture of two feet on the top of a hill. This drawing represents an important sacred spot on Ramesvaram island at Gandhamadana Hill, two miles north of the Ramalingesvara Temple, where the footprints of Rama are venerated. In keeping with a true depiction of monuments in relation to the cardinal directions, the artist has very methodically placed the shrine to the left (that is, the north) of the Ramalingesvara Temple. The outer edge of the composition shows the most distinguishing geographical feature of this picture. Along what would be the north, east, and south sides of the temple, water surrounding the isthmus is shown teeming with sea life. The only edge not to be treated in this way is the area to the west, where the island joins the mainland by the stone bridge. The picture of Ramesvaram island by the Indian artist is very different from a surveyor's map, yet Mackenzie collected both. This shows Mackenzie's interest in and willingness to accept different modes of cultural representation.

The chapters in this book trace the development of Mackenzie's career in India by looking at the many strands of his collections mentioned in this Introduction. Chapter 1 examines Mackenzie's 'Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions' from 1792 to 1799. It looks at both the early format his investigations followed and the development of new modes of investigation that he would employ during the Mysore Survey from 1799 to 1810. Chapter 2 studies some of Mackenzie's colleagues and their interactions as represented through the drawings. It also puts forth the question whether it is appropriate to regard Mackenzie as an Orientalist. Chapter 3 investigates the research Mackenzie did on the trades, occupations, and social interactions of the people of 'Balla Ghat' during the early stages of the Mysore Survey. In particular, the chapter considers the input of local information and how these investigations connect with Thomas Munro's Raiyatwari System. Chapter 4 discusses the pictures Mackenzie collected of temples primarily during the Mysore Survey to understand the methodology behind his scattered investigations on this one particular topic. Chapter 5 follows the comprehensive investigations Mackenzie conducted at Mahabalipuram from 1799 to 1816. Not only do these investigations give a sense of the value he placed on local knowledge, they also provide previously unexamined interpretations to some of this site's most puzzling archaeological questions. The final chapter, Chapter 6, studies the final chaotic decade of Mackenzie's career, beginning with his work as Surveyor General of Madras and his work in Java and ending with his death at Calcutta in 1821.

Mackenzie's interest in understanding the people and history of India motivated him to explore numerous avenues for gathering information. The Mackenzie Collection testifies to this through the inclusion of drawings by Indian artists. Even more exciting and varied are the large number of manuscripts that were variously collected in Indian languages and in English translation. Such a wide ranging collection was only possible by a man who was confident about working under strenuous conditions in the field and who understood the importance of local knowledge. At the same time, performing map surveys was at the core of Mackenzie's grand project. To perform this kind of work Mackenzie had to work within the machinery of the East India Company. He used the institutions set up in Madras, such as the Surveying School, to his full advantage so that he always had an inexpensive but technically skilled work force at his disposal. From 1799 onwards the young men who studied at the Madras Surveying School would become some of Mackenzie's most important draftsmen.

Mackenzie's impulse to gather information and his employment of knowledgeable, highly trained translators are what made the Mackenzie Collection what we find today. The increased resources that Mackenzie received towards the last two decades of his career, paired with his physical and mental stamina, led to him accumulating what is probably the most important extant collection of drawings to illustrate the history of the early colonial period in South Asia. Whilst the collections have remained largely unorganized and misunderstood for almost 200 years, researchers are now examining the Mackenzie Collection with a new vigour that will increase as our understanding of this intricate colonial archive expands.

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18. Letter to Kirkpatrick dated 16 November 1801. Mss Eur/F228/19, f.11v.
19. NAS, GD46/17/51. Letter from Mackenzie to Mrs Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth. Calcutta, 24 March 1819.
20. A fuller analysis of Thomas Hickey's portrait of Mackenzie is given in Chapter 6.
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42. *Harkara* is the Telugu word for a spy or informant. In correspondence relating to the Mysore Survey we learn that the staff on Benjamin Heyne's expedition from Madras in 1800 included three 'Harcarrahs'(Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India* [3 vols], vol. II, p. 113, note 5).
43. The first drawing in this set is WD2673. It is reproduced as figure 3.1 (pp. 76–7) in my article in T.R. Trautmann, *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.
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Chapter 1

The Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions

1792 to 1799

The earliest large-scale survey executed by Colin Mackenzie was of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions. This territory covered much of the modern state of Andhra Pradesh, as well as northeast Karnataka and central Maharashtra. Mackenzie began the survey in April 1792, immediately after the Third Mysore War. In March 1792, Tipu Sultan had to cede his territories to the north and east of the Kaveri river to the Nizam of Hyderabad. This territory, which included Adoni, Bellary, Anantapur, Cudappah, and Kurnool, prompted the Nizam's survey, which ended in 1799 when the Fourth Mysore War began. The Nizam was allied with the East India Company during the late eighteenth century, in the midst of warfare with the Marathas and Mysore. He reaped the rewards of this alliance after the Third Mysore War by enlarging his kingdom, but this gain in territory came at a cost. The East India Company undertook the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions but the Nizam was required to fund it. Also, as the Nizam was to find out later, paying for the survey did not guarantee that he would hold on to his newly gained territories.

Although he was employed by the Nizam, Mackenzie clearly saw this survey as an opportunity to serve the East India Company by compiling and transmitting information about an unexplored corner of India to the Court of Directors in London, as well as to his European colleagues in India and the general public of Britain. The pictures he collected and the writings he assembled between 1792 and 1799 document a formative point in his career that shaped the attitudes, approaches, and artistic genres he would adopt during the Mysore Survey. There are four sets of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection that correspond with different stages of the survey. These sets of drawings were assembled in 1792, 1794, 1797, and 1798. The first set of drawings was personally compiled by Mackenzie and marks the onset of the survey in April 1792. The second and third sets of drawings, made in 1794 and 1797, were also by Mackenzie. They correspond with written accounts he compiled at the same time. When placed together, these drawings and written accounts fit together like an illustrated journal. Such narrative correspondence between pictures and written accounts does not appear in Mackenzie's later investigations. This is almost certainly because Mackenzie was the main artist of these early drawings, and as a trained surveyor his skill lay in drawing topographical views. He was also the person compiling the reports, so it makes sense that the two should connect. By contrast,

on Mackenzie's later surveys, he had more people working with him. The tasks that these later assistants worked on, such as compiling reports and making pictures, were not necessarily coordinated. The only drawings from the Hyderabad Survey that can be positively identified as those by an artist other than Mackenzie were created towards the end of the survey, in 1798.

Before examining the drawings in detail, it is important to understand the circumstances under which this survey was carried out. In spite of the survey taking place over the course of seven years, it was conducted in a piecemeal fashion because of constant interruptions. Some of these interruptions were caused by illness, but others were the result of political intervention. In particular, the East India Company repeatedly hindered Mackenzie's progress by recalling him to take part in various military campaigns. Mackenzie was also aware of other barriers to his survey work, such as cultural misunderstandings between Indians and Europeans, and how these misunderstandings could give rise to political altercations in the Nizam's court.

Mackenzie was the obvious choice to initiate the Survey of Hyderabad. During the Third Mysore War (1790–2) he had distinguished himself as the assistant to the Chief Engineer of Mysore. At the war's culmination, Marquis Cornwallis appointed Mackenzie to the post of Surveyor and Field Engineer to the Nizam of Hyderabad's detachment. Mackenzie's main duty was to survey the territory under the Nizam's control and delineate the kingdom's new borders, with particular attention to the territories ceded to the Nizam by Tipu Sultan. The Nizam paid for the survey, and in spite of Mackenzie receiving no remuneration from the East India Company, he dutifully supplied the Court of Directors with maps and reports charting his progress. He was recalled by the Company on three occasions to take part in military campaigns elsewhere, even though this new appointment meant that Mackenzie was no longer serving the British Government of India in a military capacity. When he took up the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions, he had to resign from the army and did not receive any salary from the East India Company to help pay for the Hyderabad Survey.

Interruptions

The survey began in April 1792, when Mackenzie travelled from Bangalore to Hyderabad after the end of Third Mysore War. By late 1792 Mackenzie was seriously ill and had to temporarily move to Madras to recuperate where he was the guest of Colonel Ross, the Chief Engineer at Madras. In a letter written from his sick bed dated 28 March 1793 he said,

> I must turn my face to another greater [task] and proceed shortly I hope to the Capital of the Nizam from where my surveys are to be continued—except when our detachment goes on other service…I have been living in his [Colonel Ross'] house since I came up when the attention placed to me has much contributed to the restoration of my health…[1]

Shortly after writing this letter Mackenzie returned to the Nizam's Dominions, but his words rang ominously true. By May 1793 he was ordered to take part in the siege of Pondicherry. In February 1794, after these two major interruptions, Mackenzie was finally able to return to Hyderabad and begin the survey in earnest. He began by charting the mountain passes between the rivers Pennar and Krishna, which border the east side of the territories ceded to the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1792. During this expedition he managed to collect written accounts and drawings of some of the

places he visited. By April 1794 he was taken ill again, along with the rest of his party, and was taken to Hyderabad to recuperate.

In 1795 Mackenzie's efforts were impeded by circumstances precipitated by both the survey's patron, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the East India Company. The first of these is described in a letter from Mackenzie to the Earl of Seaforth.

> last year [1795] all my projects were nearly blasted by the Nizam sending away the Detachment; this happened in May, after his return from his disgracefull Treaty with the Marattas at Khurdla by which he yielded up 35 sacks of annual revenue besides the important fort of Dowlatabad and immence sums of treasure…[2]

The detachment was ordered away, but Mackenzie received permission to stay in Hyderabad for an additional two months after the detachment left. Then came the second interruption. That year in November, Mackenzie was called away to Sri Lanka to assist with the Colombo expedition. He travelled to Madras at the height of the monsoon and proceeded by boat to the west coast of Sri Lanka. In March 1796 Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, permitted Mackenzie to resume his duties in Hyderabad.[3] Mackenzie remained in Madras for a few months, and in August 1796 completed his general map of the Nizam's Dominions. Mackenzie wrote to Hobart (referring to himself in the third person) that 'a Copy of which with a memoir explanatory of its construction is sent in and will accompany the recommendation referred to for the Court of Directors by next Ships; that these Surveys have been carried on without any expence whatever to the Company (his appointment being paid by the Nizam) and executed solely with the view of rendering them usefull to his employers and the publick'.[4] The map was accompanied by a detailed report by Mackenzie.[5]

In January 1797 Mackenzie once again returned to Hyderabad [6] and 'thence undertook a new survey to the SW frontier of the Nizam and Marattas'.[7] The survey of the southwest frontier was accompanied by a journal and a series of corresponding watercolours. This work was cut short in May 1797 when Mackenzie was once again called away to Madras, this time to accompany an expedition to Manila as the Chief Engineer. This expedition was cancelled just before it was set to embark from Madras and Mackenzie returned to Hyderabad in 1798.[8] The survey came to a close by the end of that year when Mackenzie and the Nizam's detachment left Hyderabad to meet the Duke of Wellington's troops in Ambur, to assist with the events of the Fourth Mysore War.

The Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions was routinely interrupted. The East India Company precipitated three of these interruptions, which involved Mackenzie being recalled from the survey, even though he was not receiving a salary from the Company at that time. These interruptions made it impossible to conduct the survey in a smooth, orderly fashion. It is thus not surprising that the drawings of this survey fall into four small groups that correspond with the time when Mackenzie could get on with his work for short periods lasting no more than three months. In many ways, it is astonishing that Mackenzie was able to gather a reasonably coherent body of drawings relating to the Survey of Hyderabad. His frustration with these interruptions is expressed in the letter he wrote to Alexander Johnston in 1817.

> It would be tedious to relate the difficulties, the accidents, and the discouragements that impeded the progress of this design from 1792 to 1799—the slender means allotted…the doubts and the hindrance ever attendant on new attempts; difficulties arising from the nature of the climate, of the country, and of the Government; from conflicting interests, and passions and prejudices, difficult to contend with and unpleasant to recollect.[9]

The drawings collected during this stage of his career are testimony to the persistence and dedication that distinguished his work in the field.

Mackenzie's motivation to persist with this frustratingly piecemeal survey was very clearly described in his correspondence to the East India Company. Before he began the survey, he wrote about the challenge that faced him. 'The Dekkan was in fact then a terra incognita, of which no authentic account existed, excepting in some uncertain notices and mutilated sketches of the marches of Bussy, and in the travels of Tavernier and Thevenot, which by no means possess that philosophical accuracy demanded in modern times'.[10] These previous accounts of the territories were indeed sketchy and Mackenzie thought it was important for the British to have a more informed understanding of this part of the world. Mackenzie documented the aims of the survey in various letters and official memoranda. In one such letter, dated 9 August 1796, he declared his lack of interest in personal monetary gain, and described how the survey should proceed.

> many in this case would have contented themselves with Surveying a little to keep up appearances, and thus save most of the allowances; but my views extended further, and this was not the intention of the friends who suggested my nomination. I felt an ambition of opening a wide field yet untrodden, except the marches of M. Bussy obscurely laid down. I went further and hoped to bring forward my claims to notice by giving a fuller account of the Extensive Dominions belonging still to Nizam Ali, if not of the whole Dekan, for the use of my Employers and the publick at large than has yet been done; many obstacles arose, unnecessary to mention now, my health repeatedly suffered, but with the perseverance of a Highlander I returned repeatedly to the charge.[11]

Mackenzie was determined to extend his research into a body of work that would benefit a broader audience. Taking charge of the survey was a formative event in Mackenzie's career. Many of the methods and attitudes that he developed during the Hyderabad Survey characterized his later work, particularly during the Survey of Mysore.

In a memoir dated 1795 (possibly written during Mackenzie's two-month hiatus in Hyderabad, when the Nizam sent away his detachment), Mackenzie wrote about the progress of the survey, and how his aims were gradually shaped.

> The result of these and the marches of the Detachment around the Country opened a wider field for extending them still further, and suggested additional means of rendering the situation usefull by collecting such a mass of materials as would form a sufficient ground work for a General Map of the Nizams Dominions in particular, as well as what might fall under general observation.[12]

In particular, he wrote about how local information could assist the survey. Mackenzie's belief in the underlying helpfulness of local knowledge was an important feature of this survey that he would continue to believe in for the rest of his career. He wrote that local knowledge

> may be procured in the Country, from the people early habituated by profession to act as Conductors on the great roads, and observe the remarkable distinctions and boundaries of Districts and places who tho' they may not with geometrical accuracy give the distances and directions, are yet very usefull in giving important information of these objects.[13]

At this early stage in his surveying career, he was already employing Indian informants to translate texts. In the same report dated 1795, Mackenzie says that his surveys 'were strengthened by the knowledge of many useful documents in private hands which might be obtained for this purpose'.[14] The practice of gathering local manuscripts became one of the most discerning features of Mackenzie's research in India. One of Mackenzie's first named informants, Kavali Venkata Boriah Brahmin, began working with Mackenzie in 1794, so the practice of collecting and translating Indian texts could have begun during the Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's dominions.[15] Mackenzie also acknowledged the difficulties brought on by cultural differences between Europeans and local people: 'the prejudices of the religion, political jealousy, and manners differing far from European, present difficulties scarcely to be surmounted…'[16] Mackenzie thus exhibited awareness of the misunderstandings that could arise between culturally different groups, making his interactive, field-based approach to gathering information unique.

As mentioned earlier, Mackenzie's enthusiasm to extend the survey in new directions was partially connected to his desire to create a body of knowledge of use to the public. The Survey of the Nizam's Dominions was entirely funded by the Nizam of Hyderabad. To advance his career as a servant of the East India Company, Mackenzie needed to perpetually remind its Board of Directors of his hard work and was obligated to send his maps and memoirs of the survey to London. After the Third Mysore War, word reached Mackenzie that a new position in Madras Presidency to match the post of Surveyor General of Bengal was possibly going to be created. In a letter dated 9 August 1796 Mackenzie wrote,

> This appointment of Surveyor General was suggested to me by several friends here who thought I had some claim to it, but tho it exists in Bengal (there being none of this name on the coast) Lord Hobart from a certain delicacy (I understand proceeding from the orders from home) did not like to nominate me for it at once as I wished…[17]

No doubt, Mackenzie's 1795 report on the survey,[18] which accompanied the map produced by him in the same year, was an attempt to publicize his work in Hyderabad with both the Governor of Madras and the Board of Directors in London to advance his career within the Company. In a letter introducing the report, which Mackenzie wrote in the third person, he said,

> he hopes that this essay to furnish his honorable masters with the most ample and accurate view, that under such circumstances could be obtained of the Dominions of a Sovereign connected with our nation by ties of unity and mutual interests, will be received with indulgence and encouraged by their protection.[19]

Mackenzie was determined to extend his research beyond the creation of maps and this determination gave rise to new methods for gathering information that were to define his career in India.

Because Mackenzie had few assistants working with him on the Hyderabad Survey, most of the drawings were prepared by him. As a result, the Hyderabad Survey's drawings are not as numerous and varied as those collected during the Mysore Survey. A case in point is the natural history drawings. Mackenzie did not collect pictures of flora and fauna during the Nizam's Survey, but during the Mysore Survey he assembled at least three albums of natural history drawings. Mackenzie did not have anyone on hand during the Hyderabad Survey to gather botanical drawings and he personally lacked the expertise to accurately record the plants and animals of the areas he visited. In a letter to the Earl of Seaforth dated 28 March 1793, Mackenzie says,

> You wrote me some year ago to collect herbs and seeds for your Botanical collection, but tho I have been continually wandering about the country, I have so little taste or knowledge of Botany and if I had our baggage is constantly exposed to such [text missing] in travelling that it would be vain to attempt it…[20]

In another letter written in the same year, he says that 'a person conversant in natural history has certainly an ample field to range in here and I can only regret my inability to go into it'.[21] Although botany and zoology did not figure in this particular survey, Mackenzie saw the relevance of such investigations. Less than a decade later, during the Mysore Survey (1799–1810), he managed to secure the necessary resources to gather information about natural history for at least part of the survey.

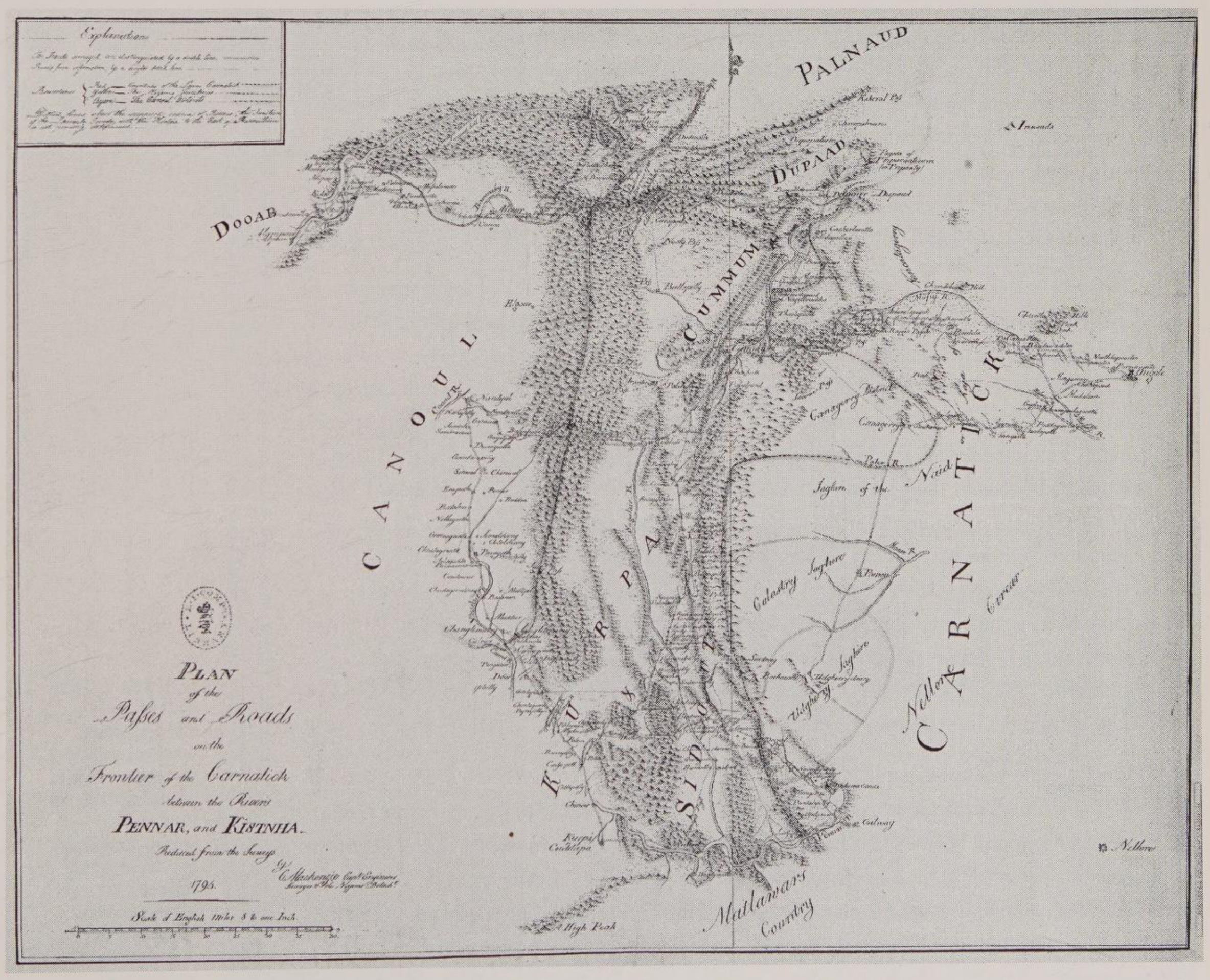
Most of the original field sketches prepared by Mackenzie during the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions have been lost, and the extant drawings are almost entirely fair copies based on Mackenzie's original field sketches. Judging by the style of these fair copies, they were probably made in Calcutta between 1819 and 1821 by Mackenzie's Bengali copyists, Shaikh Abdullah, Najibullah, and Pyari Lal, several decades after the field sketches were prepared.[22] We know that Mackenzie managed to employ at least two other men to take drawings in the field during the Hyderabad Survey, Alexander Orr (1764–1809) and Benjamin Sydenham (1777–1828). Orr produced drawings during a survey of Gunthur Circar[23] and also drew sketches of marches of the Nizam's detachment[24] but the location of these drawings is not known. The drawings of the Nizam's detachment are possibly those prepared in 1792, at the beginning of the survey. The other draftsman, Benjamin Sydenham, made drawings during a survey of Nellore district in 1798, towards the end of the survey, possibly when Mackenzie gained access to additional resources to employ draftsmen.[25]

The Drawings: 1792

The first set of drawings associated with the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions are unsigned. They were most likely prepared by either Mackenzie or by Alexander Orr[26] at the outset of the survey in April 1792. During that month, Mackenzie prepared a map showing the route taken by the Nizam's detachment (Plate 4). This long narrow route map begins at Bangalore and traces the path of the detachment to the north, in the direction of Cudappah at the time of their departure on 25 April 1792, once the campaigns of the Third Mysore War came to a close. At the same time that this map was created, drawings were taken of the flags carried by the Nizam's armies,[27] including one watercolour showing their encampment (Plate 5). Although these drawings are remarkable for heralding the beginning of the survey, they do not connect with any prominent written accounts.

The Drawings: 1794

The next set of drawings was collected between February and March 1794 while Mackenzie was surveying the mountain passes between the rivers Pennar and Krishna, east of Hyderabad. Mackenzie made a map of the areas covered in this survey (Map 1.1). Perhaps coincidentally, the three sites recorded in these drawings were all important to the irrigation of the surrounding areas. Mackenzie described his arrival at the hilltop temple at Tirupurattikam in a diary entry dated 26 February 1794. He was looking for a sculpture described by Tavernier in the seventeenth century as a 'statue of Venus'.[28] He could not find anything resembling the sculpture described by Tavernier at the hilltop temple, but prepared a drawing of a sculpted stone next to the temple's entrance showing a group of men engaged in a discussion. Mackenzie's label for the drawing says 'sketch of sculpture on the outer walls of the Pagoda on the Hill at Trepranticum supposed to represent a conference between the Rheddynars & Cummawar Chiefs' (Fig. 1.1).[29] Mackenzie noted that below the hill 'extensive paddy fields are cultivated on the E side'.



Map 1.1 A map signed by Colin Mackenzie dated 1794, showing territory between the rivers Pennar and Krishna (IOR, X/2302)

A local brahmin told Mackenzie that 'in a small island of the lake below was a famous image' which happened to be the sculpture described by Tavernier. The island is visible from the temple on the hill and is actually a flat rocky outcrop that juts out into the tank below 'except where a narrow neck joins the rock'. This temple, which juts out into the water, is clearly visible from the hilltop temple of Tirupurattikesvara (Fig. 1.2). Mackenzie went to the temple and descended some stairs to a subterranean basement that was partially submerged by the surrounding water of the lake. Appearing out of the water in this cave-like room, he saw Tavernier's 'Venus'.

> The Pagoda is small and ruinous; the Bramin lighting a lamp led me to the inner recess where I could perceive by the faint light not Venus, queen of smiles and beauty rising from the sea, but a horrid figure with four hands, daubed with red spots and the head covered with a high headdress, appearing waist high out of a well, to which we descended by 8 steps; some water surrounded the figure, but only a few inches deep, to favour the deception I presume of the Goddess rising out of the water to the crowds who assemble at the annual festival…[30]

The brahmin identified the sculpture as Tirupurattikesvari and told Mackenzie that she had previously resided with her husband, Tirupurattikesvara, in the temple atop the hill. Her husband was displeased with the blood sacrifices she regularly accepted so she 'fled to the lake, whence refusing to return, this temple was built over her'.[31] In spite of the enclosure being very dark Mackenzie managed to draw a picture of the goddess' figure and captioned it as 'Sketch of the object of worship in the inner cell of the pagoda of Calee at Trepranticum'. On the evening of the same day Mackenzie left Tirupurattikam (see Fig. 1.1).

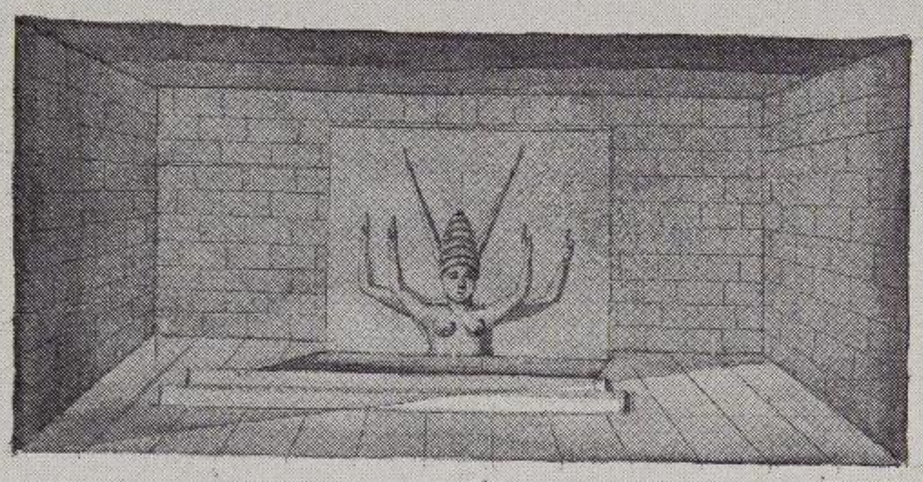
Two weeks later, on 14 March 1794, Mackenzie reached the Mallikarjuna Temple at Srisailam. This temple is situated atop a high rocky outcrop on the south bank of the Krishna river. According to Mackenzie's account, the brahmins at Srisailam said he was the first European to visit the site. He described Srisailam as 'a wild tract of country, almost uninhabited except by the Chinsuars….'[32] Just like Tirupurattikam, Srisailam is an important place for irrigation works. Immediately below Srisailam, the Krishna river passes through a gorge that is now the location of a massive hydroelectric dam. Mackenzie's full, unabridged account of Srisailam from 1794 is written in a Mackenzie manuscript.[33] Part of this account was published in *Asiatick Researches*.[34] In the manuscript there are sketches in the margins that did not appear in the published article. These sketches were also made into fair copies and are part of the British Library's Mackenzie Collection. Mackenzie obviously intended that his article in *Asiatick Researches* should include these illustrations. Unfortunately the journal's editors decided that the illustrations did not merit inclusion.[35] For the first time, this late eighteenth-century account can now be united with Mackenzie's intended illustrations.

Mackenzie's account began with a description of his entry through the temple's south gate into the temple's inner courtyard. He described the central shrine as square, with a roof 'terminated by a pyramid of steps' and 'covered in brass plates, which have been gilt, but the gilding is now worn off[36]'. This roof type is the subject of a Mackenzie drawing (Fig. 1.3). He described the brass plates as mainly plain, although some of them were embossed with female figures. Other brass plates, embossed with friezes, are described as decorating doorways. Brass plates also covered the *stambha* (post, column, pillar) outside the temple's main south entrance.[37]

Sketch of the Object of Worship

In the Inner Cell of the Pagoda of Callee

at Treprantieum



Sketch of a Sculpture on the Outer Walls of

The Pagoda on the Hill at

Treprantieum

Supposed to represent a Conference between the Rheddyaar & Gunnawar Chiefs

Fig. 1.1 A drawing signed by Colin Mackenzie of the submerged Kali in the basement sanctum of the Goddess Temple, Tirupurattikam. Below this is another Mackenzie drawing of a sculpted stone inside the hilltop temple of Tirupurattikesvara, Tirupurattikam (WD1065, f.7)

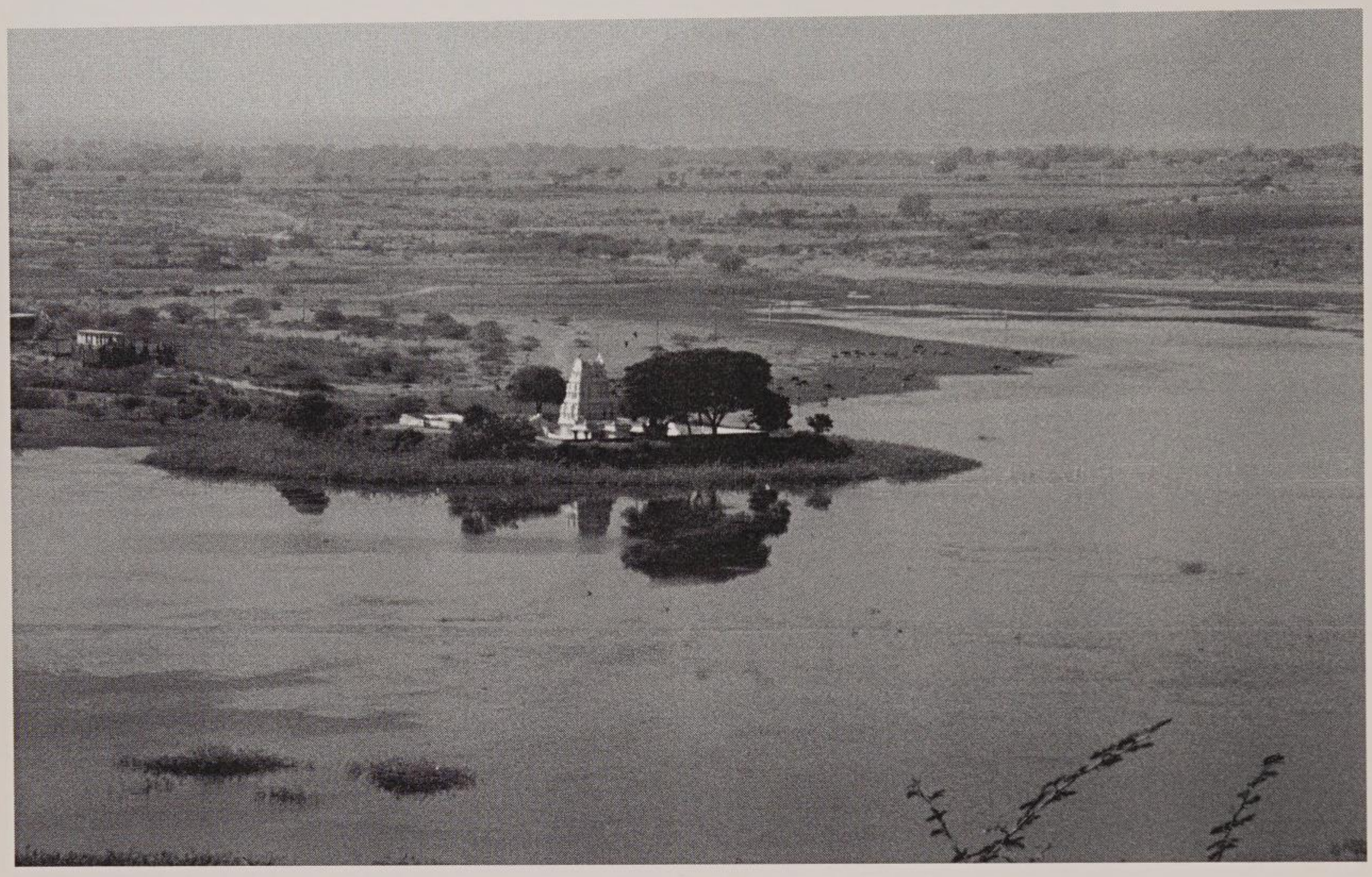


Fig. 1.2 Photograph taken from the hilltop Tirupurattikesvara Temple, showing the Goddess Temple at the bottom of the hill, next to the tank (photograph by the author)

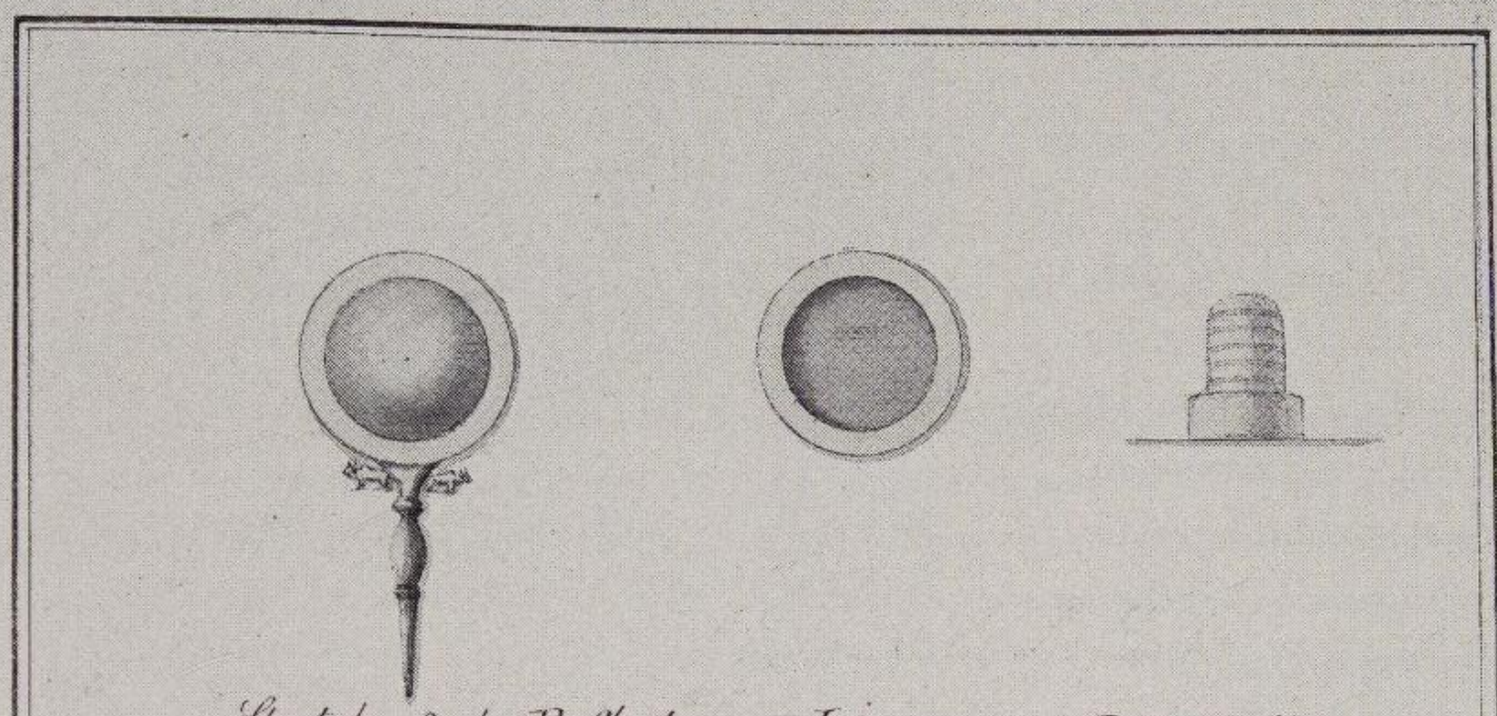
Mackenzie described it as 'a slender pillar about twenty four or thirty feet high, entirely composed of brass plates; it is bent; and from the joints, which plainly appear in the plating, it seems to be laid on a bamboo, enclosed within'.[38] The stambha is on a pedestal bearing inscriptions on its sides.

The temple brahmins also showed Mackenzie brass plates bearing inscriptions, which they admitted to being incapable of reading. Mackenzie commented, 'the same ignorance of the language of their religious books seems to prevail through all these countries',[39] showing that Mackenzie was familiar with the scholarly efforts of Calcutta-based epigraphists in early 1794. He was probably writing his account with this readership in mind. The first issue of *Asiatick Researches*, published in 1788, included translations of Sanskrit inscriptions by Calcutta-based Orientalists such as Charles Wilkins and William Jones. These men had noted the absence of epigraphical studies by indigenous scholars and, as a result, they initiated the deciphering of ancient scripts and the translation of inscriptions to learn about India's ancient history.[40] Although Mackenzie capitalized on the knowledge of Indian intellectuals by employing them as translators, and recognized them as better equipped to translate archaic inscriptions than European scholars,[41] at this point in time he might have been playing up to the findings of his Calcutta-based colleagues, perhaps because he was depending on them to publish his article.

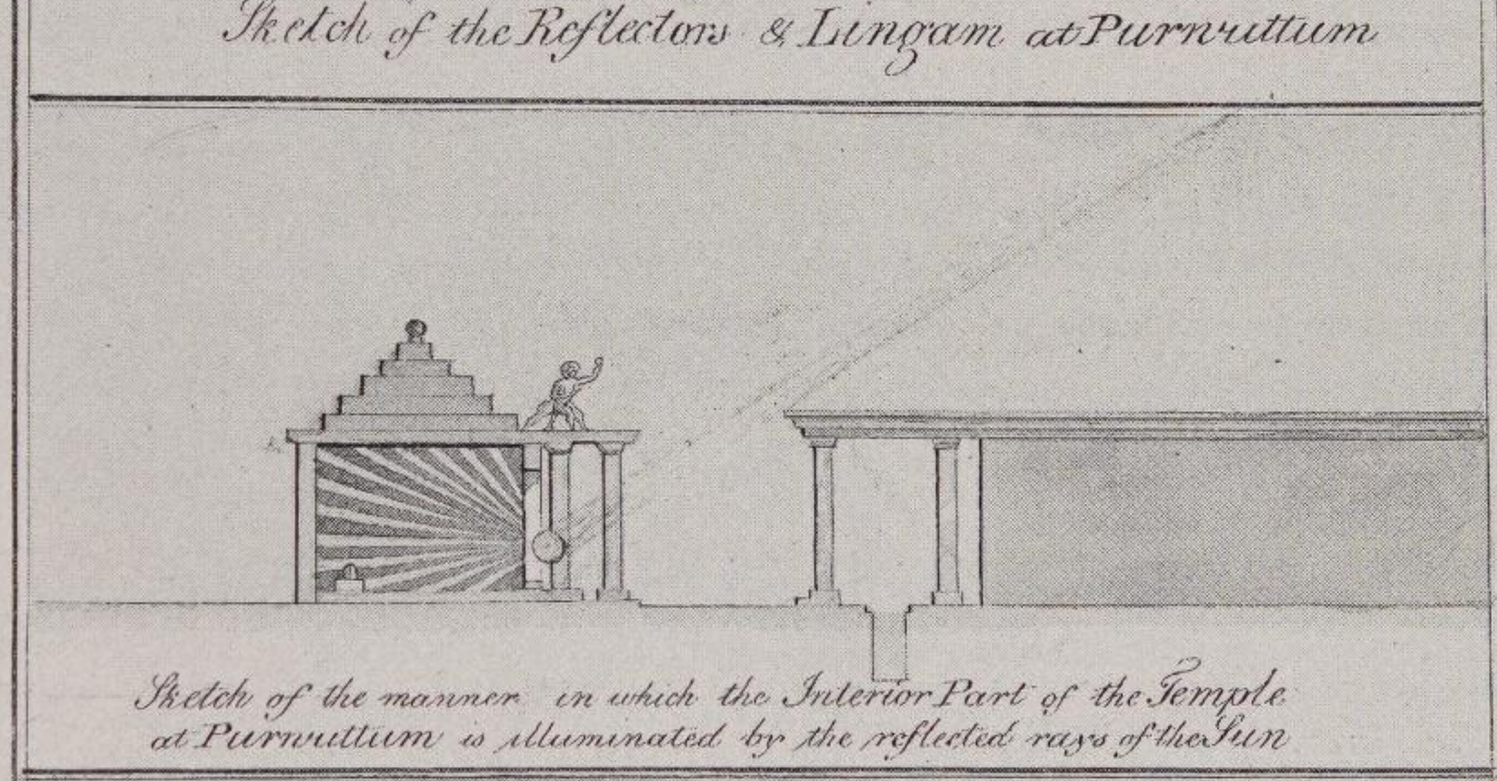
In the 1794 account, Mackenzie explains how he enquired about the image inside the Mallikarjuna Temple at Srisailam, as he found it too dark to distinguish what was in the

Sketches at Purnuttum

March 1794



Sketch of the Reflectors & Lingam at Purnuttum



Sketch of the manner in which the Interior Part of the Temple at Purnuttum is illuminated by the reflected rays of the Sun

Specimen, Sketch of some of the Sculptures on the Inclosure Walls of the Pagoda of Purnuttum

Fig. 1.3 Drawings by Colin Mackenzie relating to the Mallikarjuna Temple at Srisailam, dated March 1794. The top two drawings show how mirrors were used to illuminate the temple's sanctum. The lower drawing shows the sculpted stones that decorate the temple's outer wall (WD1065, f.8)

sanctum. Mackenzie wrote that on the day of his enquiry, 15 March 1794, the temple brahmins offered to show him the image properly. He said they 'came to request, that as the first European who had ever come so far to visit Mallecarjee, and had been prevented from seeing the object of their worship, by yesterday not being a lucky day, I would remain with them that day, assuring me that the doors would be opened at ten o'clock'.[42] Although Mackenzie questioned his interpreter about the means used to view the image, he did not understand the interpreter's response.

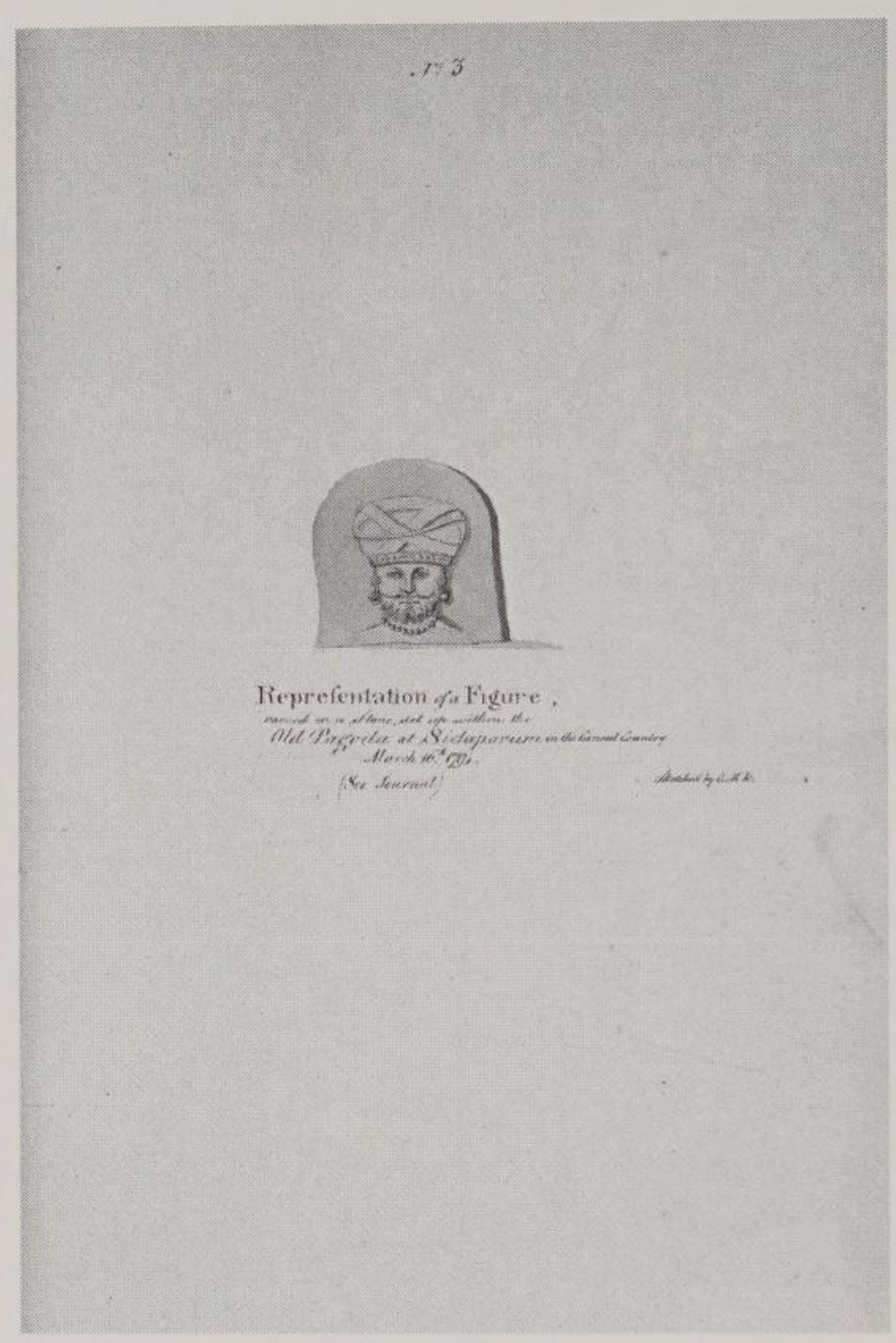


Fig. 1.4 A drawing by Colin Mackenzie, 16 March 1794 showing a stone carved with man's head inside the 'Old Temple' at Sidampuram (WD1065, f.6)

Mackenzie arrived at the temple at the appointed time and discovered that the instrument that was used to illuminate the sanctum's interior was a round convex mirror made of white metal measuring 2 ft in diameter. It was fixed to a brass ornamented handle and its convex surface was used to manipulate the sun's rays. The mirror proved difficult to use, so a second was brought out that was 'rather smaller, and concave, surrounded by a narrow rim, and without a handle'.[43] Mackenzie was instructed to take off his shoes and stand in front of the sanctum's doorway, while a curious crowd of devotees stood around him in anticipation of seeing the image. A boy positioned near the doorway waved the concave mirror about, casting a ray of light into the sanctum. Mackenzie was surprised to see that 'this God Mallicarjee is no more than the Lingam, to which such reverence is paid by certain casts of the Gentoos'.[44]

The account of Srisailam shows that the use of mirrors to illuminate darkened temple interiors was an indigenous technology. The way the mirror reflected the sun's rays is shown in a drawing by Mackenzie (Fig. 1.3). This method of lighting is still used today at temple sites in western, central, and southern India. The use of mirrors to reveal the image in the sanctum to pilgrims was new to Mackenzie and he comments that 'these arts, designed to impose on the credulity of the ignorant superstitious croud, seem to have been cultivated successfully here, and the difficulties attending to the journey, with the wild gloomy appearance of the country, no doubt add to the awful impression made on their minds'.[45] Mackenzie also took the trouble to describe the carved stones that decorate the outer walls of the Mallikarjuna Temple. A few of these are illustrated in a Mackenzie drawing (Fig. 1.3).

The day after this encounter Mackenzie was travelling again. He reached a place called Sidampuram, where he sketched a stone carved with a picture of a man's head. The drawing is

inscribed, '16th March 1794. Sketched by C.M.K'[46] (Fig. 1.4). Later that month, he reached the Great Tank at Kambham, on the bank of the Gundlakamma river. This enormous tank no longer exists because its source was diverted by a large dam. Mackenzie made a drawing of the tank's embankment (Plate 6) and collected a local account of the tank's origin which he published in Alexander Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*.

> Eight hundred years previously, the wife of Krishna Raya asked a Brahmin astrologer how she might perform a good deed which would help the world. After pausing for thought, the Brahmin asked the queen the value of her toe rings. The queen answered that the price was a lakh. The Brahmin then told her that on the place where her toe rings would fall, a good deed would occur that would help the world.
>
> While travelling to her father in law's house in Warangal, the queen halted under a banyan tree, where she bathed in the river and took refreshment. While bathing, one ring slipped from her toe. She gave orders for her entourage to search for it, and when it was found, she sent for the Brahmin astrologer. She asked him what she was to do, and he replied, 'this is a place for a good deed; if it be done here a crop of gold will be reaped'. In response to this, the queen ordered the tank's construction.
>
> During the night a Devata who resided at the place would come and undo the work. Brahmins were consulted about the cause of this occurrence and the brahmins answered that two shepherds named Chinna Cummum and Pedda Cummum resided in that place. Every day, they separately fed their sheep in the jungle, and returned to their mother's house in the evening. If these two were fixed in the watercourse, the tank would only then be complete. The queen sent for the two shepherds, and giving them two villages, and having fixed them in two watercourses, the tank was complete. That year gold was reaped.[47]

This story shows the importance of courtly patronage of irrigation works in pre-colonial India. By building a tank, the queen performs an action that 'helps the world' and leads to local prosperity. Irrigation projects such as this one benefited the agrarian economies of pre-colonial kingdoms. The Nizam of Hyderabad would have considered such irrigation works to be important, and it is indeed interesting that in 1794 Mackenzie documented at least three sites, Tirupurattikam, Srisailam, and Kambham, that were all important irrigation centres.

The Drawings: 1797

Between 14 February and 3 April 1797, Mackenzie surveyed the territories southwest of Hyderabad. The drawings in question show monuments at Hyderabad, Golconda, Gulbarga, Aland, Firuzabad, and Tuljapur. Most of these pictures are fair copies based on original sketches. The style of the fair copies indicates they were made towards the end of Mackenzie's career, while he was based in Calcutta between 1819 and 1821. The original Mackenzie drawings from which they were based have not survived. The fair copies were most likely prepared by Mackenzie's Bengali draftsmen, Shaikh Abdullah, Pyari Lal, and Najibullah. This is evident from the white pigment used to illustrate buildings. In particular, Shaikh Abdullah made buildings white if there were no surviving notes to indicate what colour to paint them.

Mackenzie's fieldbook from the survey, titled 'Remarks and Observations made on the Survey in the Nizam's Dominions in 1797',[48] has also been preserved in the British Library's collections. It is one of the 1,351 manuscripts which were presented to the British Museum

Manuscripts Department (now part of the British Library) after the death of the Marquess Richard Colley Wellesley in 1842. Wellesley became the Governor of Madras in 1797 and the following year was appointed Governor General of India. Perhaps Mackenzie gave Wellesley this field notebook as a memento of his governorship. Or maybe it is the only extant volume of a set that recorded all of Mackenzie's early surveys. One thing is for certain. Compared to other Mackenzie field notebooks, most of which are kept in the National Archives of India, the Wellesley manuscript is by far the most meticulously prepared of them all.

Besides the pictures and the manuscript, the British Library's India Office Maps collection holds a route map by Colin Mackenzie (Plate 7) showing the area surveyed from February to April 1797. Notes are written on the map, which provide further information on the sites he surveyed. For example, the map tells us that '[a]lmost all the villages on these roads to the Westward of Hydrabad are inclosed by stone or mud walls; are generally of a square form; and sometimes, but not always flanked by circular towers.'[49] Many of the descriptions given in Mackenzie's 1797 manuscript cross-reference with points on the survey map. This map also shows the route taken during another survey in 1795, which followed a route roughly perpendicular and to the north of that taken during the 1797 survey.

Fig. 1.5 A fair copy watercolour of a massive banyan tree near Malbed, originally sketched in February 1797 (WD609)

Fig. 1.6 A fair copy watercolour, based on an original sketch by Colin Mackenzie, dated February 1795, showing temple structures at 'Dungopra', Malbed (WD611)

The earliest of these drawings is dated 24 February 1797 and shows an enormous banyan tree (Fig. 1.5). The same tree is noted on the route map of the survey, which also records a route taken during a survey in 1795. Based on information provided on the route map, we know that the survey team reached the banyan tree in both 1795 and 1797. The route map, which shows the roads taken for both these surveys, describes Malbed as 'a place of worship on a rock' and the site of the banyan tree as 'A Great Banyen Tree seen from station a in Jan 95'.[50] None of these sites are anywhere near the route taken during the 1797 survey. Although Malbed was not along the route of the 1797 survey, both the 1795 and 1797 surveys passed by the large banyan tree. The 1795 survey was probably begun just before the Nizam of Hyderabad sent away Mackenzie's detachment, after signing the treaty with the Marathas mentioned earlier. In 1797 it appears that Mackenzie was able to return to the place where they stopped in 1795 to recommence the survey. Perhaps the large banyan tree near Malbed was the place where the survey was forced to stop. Only one drawing from the 1795 survey, dated February and showing temples at Malbed, has survived (Fig. 1.6).

Fig. 1.7 A fair copy watercolour of the Gat Shil Temple at Tuljapur, originally sketched on 1 March 1797 (WD612)

On 1 March 1797 Mackenzie and his survey team set up camp 'close to the Gat Sil and near the South Gate of Tooljapoor'.[51] The temple town of Tuljapur is on the slopes of the Sahayadri mountain range, near Sholapur in modern Maharashtra. The Gat Shil Temple at Tuljapur is a Siva temple that local legend says was sanctified by Rama and Lakshmana. Mackenzie sketched a view of the Gat Shil Temple, showing how this assemblage of buildings was constructed at the top of a hill, and featuring a prominent domed tower and a pillar (Fig. 1.7). This picture was signed by Mackenzie and is dated 1 March 1797. Another picture showing the Gat Shil, also dated 1 March, is found in the manuscript (Fig. 1.8). This picture, which gives a view of the hills around Tuljapur, prominently shows the Gat Shil at the centre of the composition. Along the bottom of this picture is written '[s]ketch of the appearance of the Low Country from the edge of the Ghaats, near our tents close to the Gat-sil, a Hindoo building at Toljapoor'.[52] Although Mackenzie did not draw a picture of Tuljapur town, he described it as follows:

> Tooljapoor is a considerable town of about 1000 yards built on the edge of the *Ghaat* or Table on a kind of bay in which the temple of Bavany (which brings a considerable resort here) stands; here also springs the source of the Naujera which hence runs west to the Seena River; the town is formed of stone houses which are connected and form an inclosure with arched gateways on three sides; the fourth is open to the hollow bay.[53]

It was at this easternmost point of the 1797 survey that Mackenzie and his team turned back towards Hyderabad, via Gulbarga.

In March 1797 the survey team moved southeast to Naldurg. Like most of the forts on the route of the 1797 survey, Mackenzie and his men were not permitted to enter Naldurg. Of course this did not stop them from drawing a view of the fort's west side. Although not labelled as a west view, we can identify it as such by looking at the manuscript, which tells us that '[o]ne of the towers on its W. face is remarkable for its shape being formed of nine sections of circles and is of a considerable diameter'.[54] This same tower appears in the view of Naldurg drawn in March 1797 (Fig. 1.9).

Continuing further southeast, in the direction of Gulbarga, Mackenzie passed through Aland. The route map indicates that it was a walled settlement, while the manuscript describes it as 'an oblong square of about one and half miles circuit, inclosed by a ruinous stone wall without

Point of Table on
Low ranges
Low wall
165° 166°
200° Low point of ranges
205° village Gat-sil, near
village
Pillar
Bay
village
Haze on the horizon
296° Point of Table on the right
O L. Sketch of the appearance of the Low Country from the Edge of the Ghaats, near our tents close to
The Gat-sil a Hindoo building
at Toljapoor
march 1st 1797

Fig. 1.8 A surveyor's sketch showing bearings of the Gat Shil Temple on the horizon, 1 March 1797. 'Sketch of the appearance of the Low Country from the edge of the Ghaats near the tents close to the Gat Sil, a Hindoo building at Toljapoor' (Add.13582, f.11r)

Fig. 1.9 A fair copy watercolour of Naldurg, originally sketched in March 1797 (WD608)

Fig. 1.10 A fair copy watercolour of a temple compound at Aland, originally sketched in 1797 (WD614)

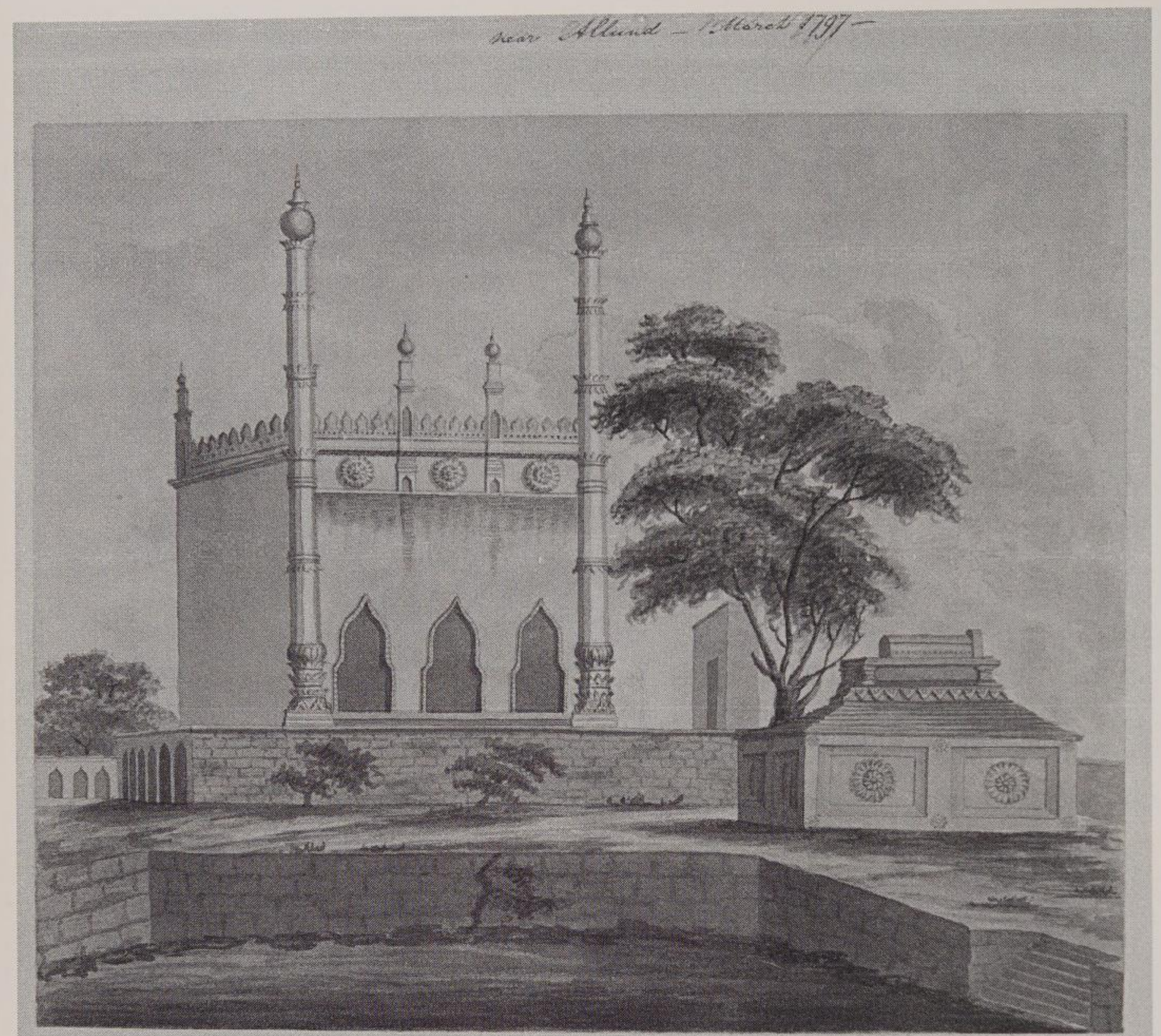
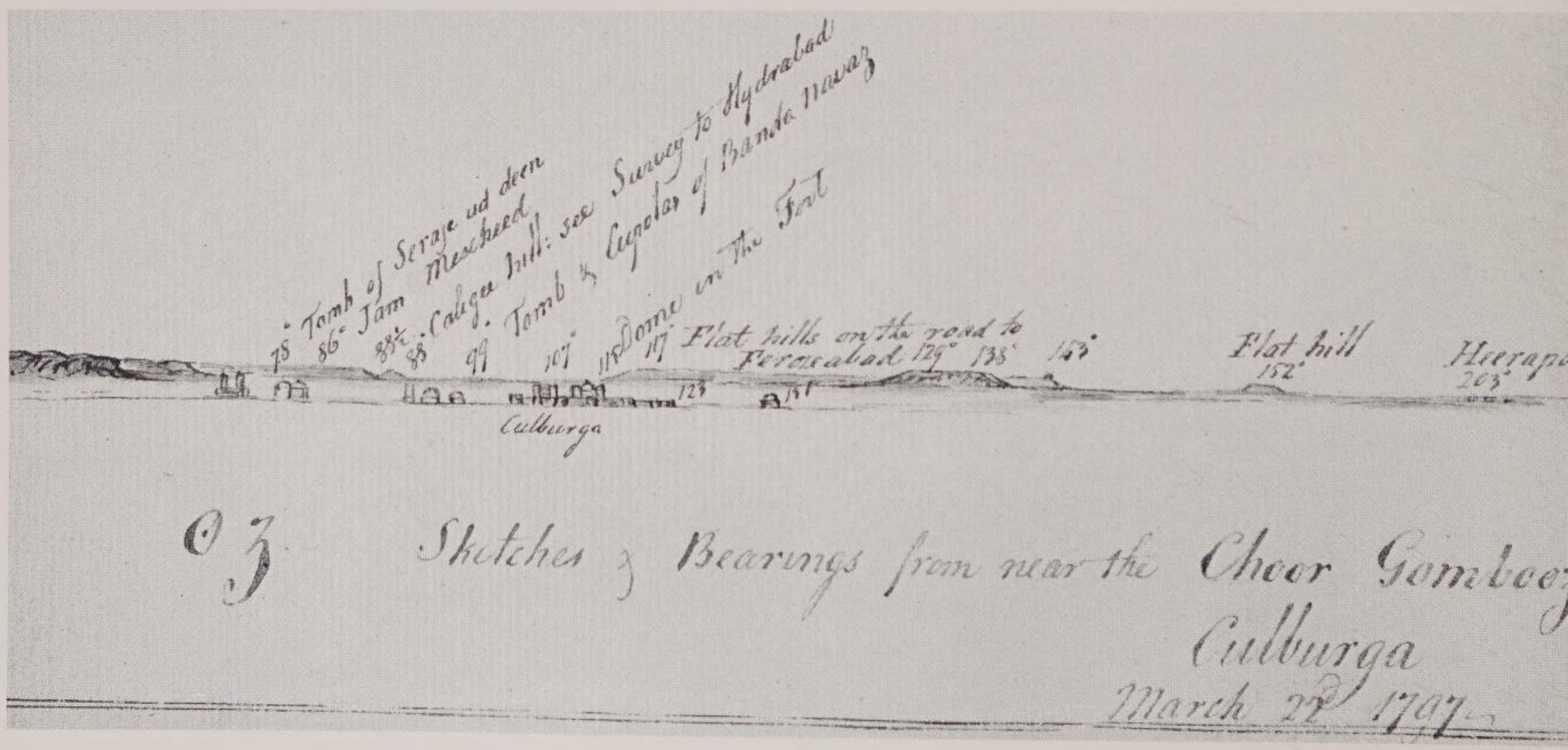


Fig. 1.11 A fair copy watercolour showing the tomb of a Muslim saint at Aland, originally sketched in March 1797 (WD607)


Tomb of Seraje ud deen
Tom Meschied
College hill: see Survey to Hydraabad
Tomb & Cupolas of Banda nawaz
Dome on the Fort
Flat hills on the road to Ferozabad
Flat hill
Culburga
Sketches & Bearings from near the Choor Gumbooz
Culburga
March 22d 1797

gateway or towers; within it is a fort flanked by high towers'.[55] Within this walled settlement there was a temple compound which forms the subject of one of the drawings made during the 1797 survey (Fig. 1.10). Immediately to the southwest of the wall surrounding Aland there was a 'durg' or mausoleum. A picture of this mausoleum, dated March 1797 (Fig. 1.11), shows a tomb on a raised platform with a smaller tomb and step tank in the foreground. Behind these structures there is an arcaded wall and a tall rectangular tower. On 9 March 1797 Mackenzie described this mausoleum compound as follows: 'About 600 yards south of it [Aland] is the tomb or Durga of Lada Ansoaree (a Mussulman Devotee much revered in these countries) said to be 490 years old; with its several buildings, it is surrounded by a high stone wall of some extent' [56]. On 11 March Mackenzie and his team left Aland and continued the survey in the direction of Gulbarga.

On 17 March 1797 Mackenzie reached the west gate of Gulbarga. A view of the town, taken 350 yards northwest of the fort, is given in the manuscript (Fig. 1.12). This view shows the locations of Suraj-ud-din's tomb and of the fort, both of which are the subjects of other Mackenzie drawings from Gulbarga. The flat hills along the road between Gulbarga and Firuzabad are also shown. Because Mackenzie was not permitted to enter the fort at Gulbarga,[57] all the drawings from this site are views outside the walls. The collection has two views of Gulbarga, both of which are fair copies based on sketches prepared by Mackenzie in March 1797. The first of these (Plate 9) is an east view of Gulbarga's fortifications from the outside, as seen from the tank. People in the foreground are pictured bathing and washing clothes. The moat surrounding the fort's wall is not visible because at the time of Mackenzie's visit, there was no water 'except what is drawn from wells'.[58] The second view (Fig. 1.13) shows the tombs of kings found alongside a square tank, one of which belonged to Hazrat Gesu-Nawaz. This tank and connected monuments are located outside the walled town, to the northwest of the fort. A third picture, also dated March 1797, shows the mausoleum and college of Shaikh Suraj-ud-din Junyadi

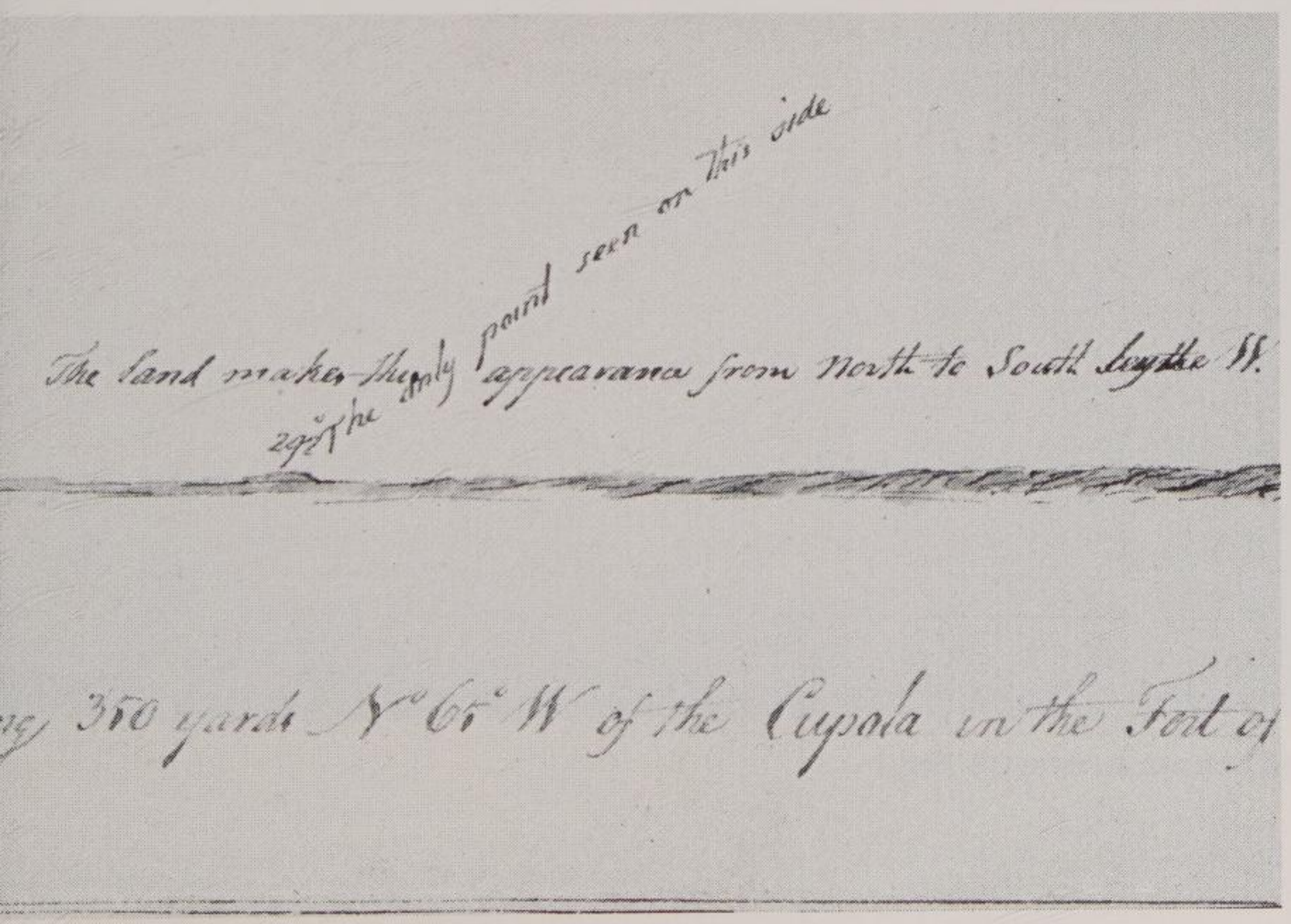

The Sand marks the only point seen on this side
appearance from North to South Length 11.
29½° the
350 yards N° 65° W of the Cupola in the Fort of

Fig. 1.12 A surveyor's sketch showing bearings along the horizon near Gulbarga. 'Sketch and bearings near the Choor Gombooz being 350 yards N 65 degrees W of the Cupola in the Fort of Gulbarga 22 March 1797' (Add.13582, f.19r)

Fig. 1.13 A watercolour of the Kings' Tombs at Gulbarga, by Colin Mackenzie, March 1797 (WD617)

Fig. 1.14 A watercolour of the mausoleum and madrassa of Shaikh Suraj-ud-din Junyadi, Gulbarga, originally sketched March 1797 (WD605)

(Fig. 1.14), which also stands to the northwest of the fort; a sketch of the tomb's location relative to the walled city is given in the manuscript account of the survey, as well as a written description.[59] Shaikh Suraj-ud-din was the teacher of the early sultans of Gulbarga. It is in this part of the city that one finds the oldest tombs of the sultans, suggesting that when Gulbarga was first built, it extended to the northwest of the fort.

In the Mackenzie Collection there is an undated plan of Gulbarga.[60] This plan lacks any informative labelling and also appears to have been cropped, thus explaining the absence of any key, scale or directional information.[61] The line that bisects the map indicates the north–south axis of the composition. Perhaps the most important thing about this map is that it shows how large Gulbarga was over 200 years ago. The city continued to the north and the west of the fort and not to the south as it does today. The city map of Gulbarga has one other problem: the shape

of the fort as indicated on this map is nothing like its real shape. The expedition's route map squarely indicates Gulbarga's location in relation to the other places visited during the survey, and has more labelling on it than the city map does. At the bottom of the route map we find the following note:

> Hyderabad, Golconda, Beder, Gulbarga and the other fortified places are sketched in from observation, but not from actual plans; as no opportunity offered of taking measurements of their complete extents; it has however been attempted to give as accurate an idea of these, and of the face of the country as the nature of situations could admit of.[62]

This quote suggests that the poorly labelled plan, with its guess-work impression of the fort's shape, was probably created during the 1797 survey.

Perhaps the most interesting drawing in the set from 1797 is a picture of the ruins at Firuzabad, Karnataka (Plate 8). Until now, this picture has been misidentified as the Sultanate site with the same name at Delhi,[63] so it has evaded the notice of researchers dealing with Deccan Sultanate architecture. Along the top of the drawing is written 'Ruins of Firozabad and View of the Grand Mosque, 1797'. Because the year of the drawing's creation figures in the title, one can easily link this picture with the drawings gathered in 1797 and re-identify it as the less known Deccan palace city.[64] Another clue to this new identification is the inscription on the back of the drawing that tells us that the site is on the bank of the Bhima River. Mackenzie's field notebook tells us that in/around 1406 Sultan Firoz Shah built Firuzabad. Mackenzie's description continues by saying that

> the seat of government was removed to Beder in the following reign and it [the city] now appears a heap of ruins displaying the remains of its former grandeur; the place is inclosed by a square rampart of about 3000 yards in extent in manner of a fort, containing the ruins of the royal palace divided into several courts, and appartments in the Arabick stile.[65]

Next to the palace, there was a Jami Masjid and a 'Saat Mahal'.[66] The surrounding fort had four gateways that faced the cardinal directions.

The drawing of Firuzabad shows the east side of the palace with the mosque to the left. The main entrance to the palace was through this east gate, which required those approaching it to walk through the centre of the palace city.[67] The mosque could also be entered from the east, through the domed gateway shown in the picture. The mosque's *qibla*, which indicates the direction of Mecca, is in the northwest corner. The north wall of the mosque backed onto the palace compound. There were two doors in this wall that palace residents must have used to enter the mosque. Judging from the drawing's title, and the comments found in the manuscript, the site was already in a dilapidated state when Mackenzie saw it two centuries ago.

Mackenzie diverted from his survey route to see Firuzabad. Most of the sites he went to during the 1797 survey are clustered along the main road from Hyderabad to Tuljapur, which runs to the northwest. To reach Firuzabad, Mackenzie had to travel 17 miles south of Gulbarga, then back up north to find the road to Hyderabad again. He obviously knew about Firuzabad already, as is indicated by his informed background about the site's history and the reference he wrote both on the back of the picture and in the manuscript saying 'See Ferishta, Vol. 1, p. 74 for an account of this Building.'[68]

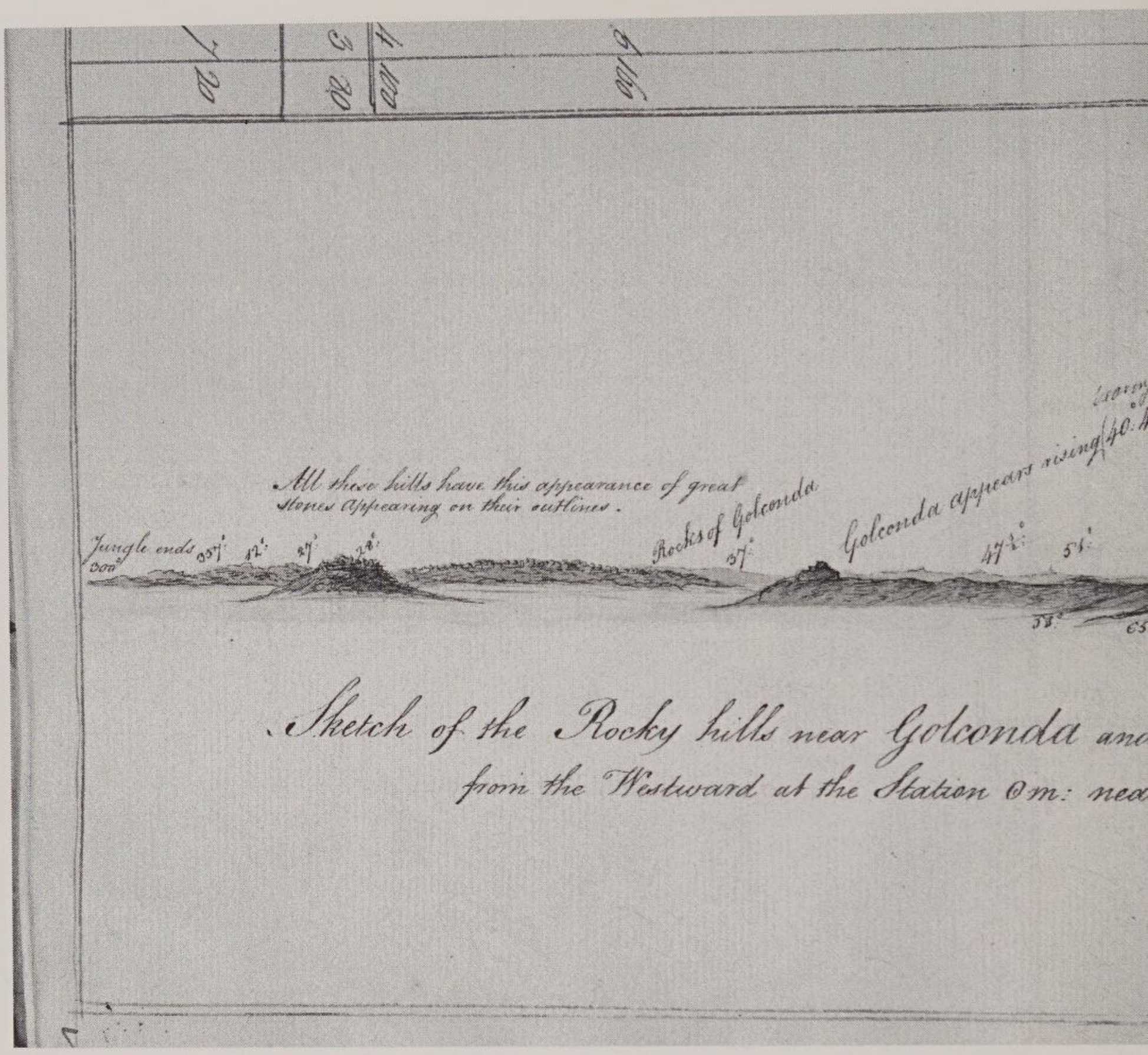

All these hills have this appearance of great
Stones Appearing on their outlines.
Jungle ends
Rocks of Golconda
Golconda appears rising
Sketch of the Rocky hills near Golconda an
from the Westward at the Station Om: nea

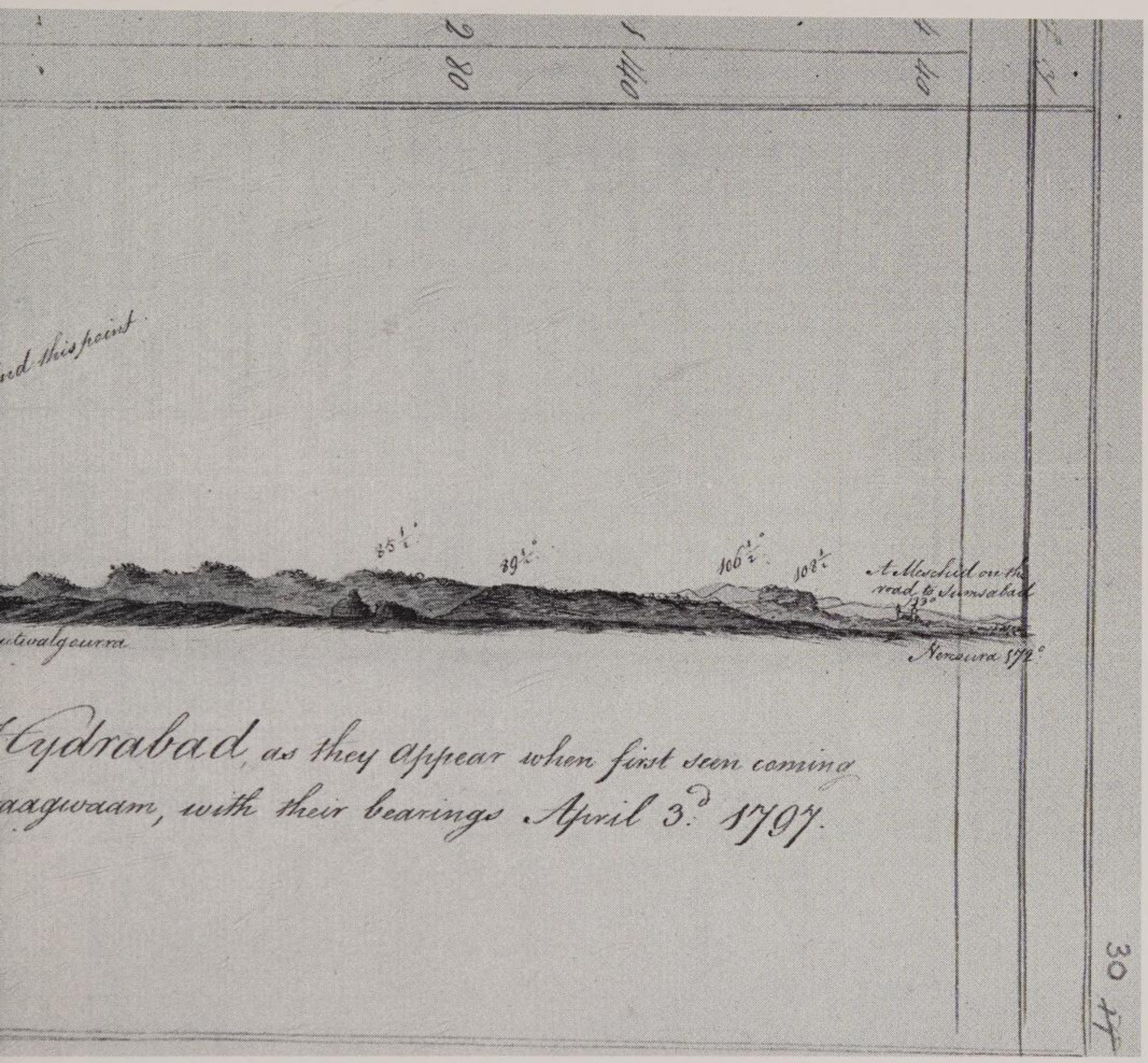
Fig. 1.15 Surveyor's sketch and bearings of the horizon near Golconda. 'Sketch of the Rocky hills near Golconda and Hyderabad as they appear when first seen coming from the westward...near Baagwaan, with their bearings. 3 April 1797' (Add.13582, f.30)

Moving closer to Golconda, Mackenzie and his team came to a forested area in March 1797, and reached Anantagiri Hill, where the Musi river originates (Plate 10).[69] The manuscript tells us that

> this hill is remarkable for a considerable pagoda built on the N.E. edge near a hollow, and a pool by which the Anantgeery, one of the heads of the Mussey River rises. It begins to flow anually some time in July after the rains have begun about three weeks; and the waters are said to appear of a red colour no doubt tinged by the red earth then saturated with the rain water. Numbers of Hindoos then assemble to celebrate a festival and several large buildings are built here to shelter the pilgrims during the rainy weather.[70]

The survey map indicates where this place of pilgrimage is, and calls it 'Sydapilly'.

In April 1797 the survey team sighted Golconda, and Mackenzie drew two sketches showing profiles of the hills to the west of the city of Hyderabad. One of these is sketched in ink and is labelled with place names and bearing points. It is dated '1797 April', indicating that it was sketched in the field during the survey.[71] The other sketch is in pencil but bears no label,



suggesting that it is an incomplete sketch which was going to be worked into a fair copy.[72] A completed fair copy based on these sketches, found in Mackenzie's field notebook, displays the same labelling and bearing points marked on the pen and ink sketch (Fig. 1.15). At the far right of the picture the location of a mosque 'on the road to Sumsabad' is indicated.[73] The location from which this view was drawn is marked on the route map[74] with the letter 'M', to the east of a town called Bagawan. At the centre of each of these three pictures we see Golconda Fort looming along the highest point on the horizon.

According to the route map, the 1797 survey went along a road to the south of Golconda and the fort was not approached. During the 1795 Survey of the Nizam's Dominions (the route of which is charted on the same map as the 1797 survey), the British examined Golconda Fort at close range.

> The Jealousy of the Hyderabad Government has hitherto prevented strangers particularily Europeans from approaching the fort at Golconda, so that from distant views and general opinion it was considered as a place of great strength. About this time however (January 1795)...the officers were allowed to approach the fort in any direction...then it was discovered that this formidable fortress could easily be taken.[75]

Perhaps Mackenzie's interest in Golconda was limited to distant views of the fort because he already knew what it was like inside, but more than likely, it was probably still contentious for a British survey team to approach the fort.

Mackenzie's detailed field journal from 1797, along with the corresponding fair copy water colours, may have been meant to be viewed together as an illustrated report. We know that Mackenzie was interested in text and image working side by side. By looking at the field report from 1797 alongside the drawings, one can construct how such an illustrated report might have looked. The 1797 drawings certainly provide the most comprehensive set of visual records that connect with a manuscript account of Mackenzie's fieldwork.

The Fourth and Final Set of Drawings: 1798

The last group of drawings from the Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions was prepared in 1798 by Benjamin Sydenham. According to Phillimore, Sydenham accompanied Mackenzie to Ramnad on 29 December 1795 to join the expedition to Colombo; in 1798 he was appointed

Fig. 1.16 A sketch by Benjamin Sydenham of the 'pagoda at Duraspatam (Nellore)', 26 March 1798 (WD655)

to assist Mackenzie's Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions.[76] There are six Sydenham drawings in total—five are original pencil and ink sketches, and the sixth is a fair copy based on one of these sketches. These have all been identified as his work and dated because the only dated drawing in the group[77] was worked into the fair copy, and the fair copy was labelled with a date and identified as the work of Benjamin Sydenham (Fig. 1.16).[78] All the sketches bear the same trademark use of broad crosshatching and treatment of foliage and the writing at the base of all these sketches is in the same hand. By looking at the two drawings illustrated here, we can also gain an idea of how pencil and ink sketches were worked into fair copies. It appears that another drawing in the same set[79] was intended to be worked into a colour picture, as is indicated by notes pencilled onto the drawing giving the names of the colours and materials depicted, such as 'red', 'green', and 'brick' (Fig. 1.17).

These pictures are extremely important for dating Mackenzie's discovery of Amaravati. According to a published account of Mackenzie's discovery of the mound at Dipaldinna, he first saw the site on 24 February 1797.[80] Mackenzie's published account tells us that inside the circular trench surrounding the mound, 'a white slab lay broken, which still exhibited some figures in relievo, of which Mr. Sydenham took a sketch'.[81] The date of Amaravati's discovery by Europeans, as relayed in Mackenzie's article, conflicts with the dates of Mackenzie's other survey work. The entries in Mackenzie's report titled 'Survey of the Nizam's Dominions in 1797'[82] places him as travelling between Hyderabad and Tuljapur between 14 February and 3 April of that year. Mackenzie drew a picture at Tuljapur on 1 March 1797,[83] which is about 500 kilometres west of Amaravati, making it impossible for him to have been near Amaravati on 24 February 1797. We know from Mackenzie's account that Sydenham was present during Amaravati's initial discovery. We also know that Sydenham was in Nellore Circar on 26 March 1798. Nellore is connected to Amaravati by a major north–south road, so Sydenham could have easily been at Amaravati a month earlier. It thus makes sense to date the discovery of Amaravati by Europeans as occurring not in 1797 but in 1798.[84]

The Survey of the Nizam's Dominions ended on 19 February 1799 when Mackenzie was ordered, along with the Nizam's detachment, to leave Hyderabad and proceed to Srirangapattnam to take part in the Fourth Mysore War.[85] They first saw the enemy on 27 March[86] and Srirangapattnam was captured on 5 May.[87] Mackenzie prepared a report on the march and military manoeuvres from February to May 1799 which was accompanied by drawings showing the positioning of troops and artillery (Map 1.2). Almost immediately after Mackenzie's work was finished, a new map of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions was created, based on Mackenzie's survey, but with one large alteration. The Treaty of Hyderabad signed on 12 October 1800 demanded that in exchange for the military assistance provided by the East India Company, the Nizam of Hyderabad had to relinquish ownership of Kurnool and Kuddapah. The new map shows the 'Ceded Districts' which the Nizam handed over to the East India Company in 1800—he had taken control of them only in March 1792 when the territories formerly controlled by Tipu Sultan were divided up.

From Hyderabad to Mysore

It is entirely possible that Mackenzie intended to illustrate a series of published articles and reports about the places he encountered during the Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's

Dominions, and that he hoped to illustrate them with the sets of drawings discussed here. We know for certain that he wanted the drawings taken in Srisailam in 1794 to accompany his article published in *Asiatick Researches*. Although his account of the temple at Srisailam was published, it was not accompanied by any of the illustrations, because the Asiatick Society's editorial board rejected Mackenzie's request to include the pictures. It is entirely possible that the same thing happened when Mackenzie published his short article on the great tank at Kambham in Alexander Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*. There is a picture in the Mackenzie Collection that might have been made expressly to accompany that article, but the article was published without the picture.

The drawings and manuscripts from the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions also hint at the directions that Mackenzie's research would extend into. Most of the drawings he collected in the 1790s were maps, plans, and topographical views of monuments, as one would expect from a military surveyor. However, other pictures made during this period show that he began developing an interest in sculpture and antiquities, such as those collected in 1794 at Tirupurattikam and Srisailam. It was also during the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions that he began entertaining the idea of collecting natural history drawings. The only impediment that stopped him from pursuing this line of collecting was the absence of a suitably trained person on his survey team. Both sculpture and natural history were explored soon afterward, during the Mysore Survey.

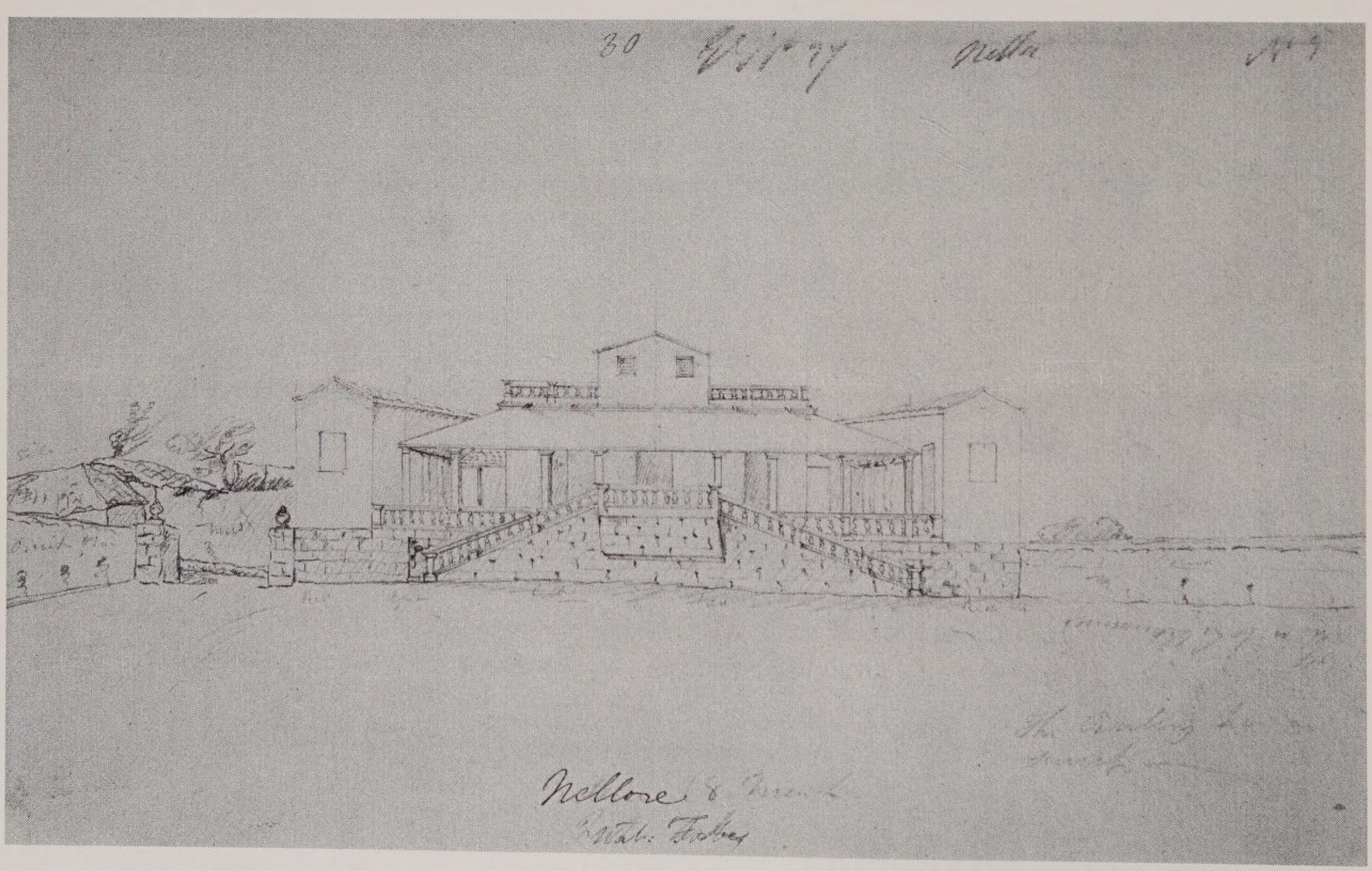


Fig. 1.17 A sketch taken at Nellore by Benjamin Sydenham showing Nathaniel Forbes' house, probably taken in March 1798. Notes in pencil indicate which colours to use in a fair copy (WD654)

VIII
b

Sketch of the Post at the North Batteries.

Explanations.

A. First battery.
B. Enfilading battery.
C. Entrenchment and Parallel inclosing the Village and Batteries.
DD. Situation proposed for the New Batteries. in Pencil.

referred to in
N° 46.
April 29th

Sultan's Battery

Post at the Head of Old bridge

W. Point

Mud wall for merly occupied by Malchlock people.

Ground occupied by the enemy.

Village occupied by our Guards

C

D

B

A

Road to Bombay Carrah

bridge

Cauvery R.

Montresor's Island

Scale of Paces

50 0 50 100 150

Map 1.2 A surveyor's map from Srirangapattnam, 29 April 1799, during the final days of the Fourth Mysore War. The plan shows British battery positions along the Kaveri river (Add.13663, f.146)

The Survey of the Nizam's Dominions is unique in three other key respects. First, it was when Mackenzie first began to write about his agenda to educate the Court of Directors and the British public about India through the collection of information. Given the chronic interruptions that confronted Mackenzie between 1792 and 1799, it is remarkable that he managed to gather such a sizeable body of drawings during this seven-year survey. His determination to gather this ancillary information was definitely motivated by his self-declared mission to advance knowledge about India.[88] Second, it was when Mackenzie first wrote about enlisting the assistance of Indian translators and informants to gather this information. We know that he began employing Boriah, his first head translator, in 1794, in the midst of this survey. We also know that Mackenzie was aware of the danger of misunderstandings between different cultural groups and the detrimental effect that such misunderstandings could have on his fieldwork.

Finally, and most importantly, this survey differs from all others in Mackenzie's career because of the level of interpretation he assigned to his data. Mackenzie's sense of subjectivity is more pronounced here than at any other point in his career. From the Mysore Survey onward, not only did Mackenzie stop interpreting the data he gathered, he also actively avoided any impulse to state opinions about the history, monuments, and general culture of the places he researched. In his private correspondence he would occasionally express views of his employers and colleagues, but his opinions virtually never extended towards research matters following the Survey of the Nizam's Dominions. This sudden aversion to interpretation must have been deliberate. From the Mysore Survey onward, his research became an objective exercise in gathering raw material for others to interpret.

Notes and References

1. NAS, GD46/17/4, ff.436-437.
2. Ibid., f.486.
3. Ibid., ff.487-488.
4. Ibid., f.456.
5. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60.
6. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. 1, p. 117.
7. NAS, GD46/17/4, f.539.
8. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 118.
9. Letter from Mackenzie to Alexander Johnston, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. I, 1834, p. 337.
10. Ibid.
11. NAS, GD46/17/4, f.486.
12. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, f.62.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Biographical information on Boriah is given in a book authored by his younger brother. Kavali Venkata Ramaswami Brahmin, *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets*. Calcutta: 1829, pp. 154–5.
16. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, f.63.
17. NAS, GD46/17/4, ff.490-491.
18. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60.

19. Ibid., f.63.
20. NAS, GD46/17/4, f.444.
21. Ibid., f.436.
22. For discussion on the production of fair copies based on original field sketches, see Chapters 4 and 6.
23. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol.I, p. 361.
24. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, f.66.
25. WD632, 654-657, 664.
26. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, f.66.
27. WD618-622.
28. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 82, f.11.
29. WD1065, f.7.
30. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 82, f.12.
31. Ibid.
32. Colin Mackenzie, 'Account of the Pagoda at Perwuttum, 1794', *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 5, 1808, p. 303.
33. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 82, ff.16-20.
34. Vol. 5 (1808), pp. 303–14.
35. Halifax, Dalhousie University, Killam Library. J. Dinwiddie Collection, B-33, 25 September–6 November 1796, journal entry for 13 October 1796. My thanks to Preetha Nair, School of Oriental and African Studies.
36. Mackenzie, 'Account of the Pagoda at Perwuttum, 1794', p. 303.
37. WD1065, f.31. Drawing of brass plated stambha in the Mallikarjuna Temple, dated March 1794.
38. Mackenzie, 'Account of the Pagoda at Perwuttum, 1794', p. 301.
39. Ibid., p. 305, ms f.16v.
40. R. Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the other Indo-Aryab Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 199.
41. See Chapter 2.
42. 1808, p. 306, Ms f.17v.
43. Mackenzie, 'Account of the Pagoda at Perwuttum, 1794', p. 307; BL, Mss Eur Mack Misc. 82, f.18r.
44. 1808, p. 307, ms f.18r.
45. 1808, p. 308, ms f.17v.
46. WD1065, f.6.
47. A. Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory: Published at the Charge of the East-India Company*, vol. 2, 1808, pp. 333–4.
48. Add.13582.
49. IOR, X/2066, lower right hand corner.
50. IOR, X/2066, to the north and east of Homnabad. The inscription about the banyan tree runs across the word 'elevated'.
51. Add.Ms.13582, f. 9(v).
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., f.10r.
54. Ibid., f. 14(v).
55. Ibid., f. 16(r).
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., f. 22(r).
59. Add.Ms.13582, f.22. Entry dated 20 March.
60. WD2658.

61. WD 2658.
62. IOR X/2066, lower right hand corner.
63. Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969, vol. 2, p. 493.
64. Michell and Eaton have published an excellent monograph on Firuzabad that documents all the monuments at the site. G. Michell and R. Eaton, *Firuzabad: Palace City of the Deccan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
65. Add.Ms.13582, f.219 (v).
66. Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*.
67. Ibid., p. 20, figure 3.
68. Add.Ms.13582, f.21 (v); WD 708. The page reference is given in the manuscript, but not on the back of the drawing. The book being referred to is Alexander Dow, *The History of Hindostan translated from the Persian of Firishta*. Dublin: Luke White, 1792.
69. WD 606.
70. Add.Ms.13582, f.31(r).
71. WD 769.
72. WD 768.
73. Add.Ms.13582, f.30.
74. IOR, X/2066.
75. Mss Eur Mack Gen.60, f. 335.
76. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 387.
77. WD655.
78. WD664.
79. WD654.
80. Colin Mackenzie, 'Account of Extracts of a Journal by Major C. Mackenzie, Feb. 24 1797', *Asiatick Researches*, 1809, vol. 9, pp. 272–8.
81. Ibid., p. 274.
82. Add.Ms.13582.
83. WD612.
84. In addition, on folio 86 of the Amaravati Album (WD1061) there is a hand-written account of this initial encounter dated 1798.
85. Add.13663, f.3.
86. Ibid., f.54.
87. Ibid., f.131v.
88. NAS, GD46/17/4, f.486.

Chapter 2

Historians and Orientalists

Throughout his career, Colin Mackenzie collected information about people, places, and monuments he encountered during his survey work. In his writings from as early as the 1790s, when he was surveying the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions, Mackenzie saw assembling his collections as an essential activity that would help disseminate information about South Asia to a broader audience.

> [A] memoir explanatory of [the survey's] construction is sent in and will accompany the recommendation referred to for the Court of Directors by next Ships; that these Surveys have been carried on without any expence whatever to the Company…and executed solely with the view of rendering them usefull to his employers and the publick.[1]

Besides sending reports to East India House in London, Mackenzie wrote several articles about his various discoveries and investigations in Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* and in *Asiatick Researches*. His overall aim was to create a body of information about the newly explored areas that he surveyed to Britain's broader public. Mackenzie also openly shared information about his investigations with his European colleagues in India. In this chapter I will examine Mackenzie's relationship with his European Orientalist colleagues by studying how the Mackenzie drawings were disseminated, and how they reflect the various trends that ran through his work and the work of his colleagues.

Mackenzie's research cannot be meaningfully discussed without looking at the input of his Indian translators. These men were responsible for collecting and translating thousands of inscriptions, manuscripts, and oral histories that are now held in the British Library. In particular, there were three brothers who worked with Mackenzie from the late 1790s onwards. The first of these men, Kavali Venkata Boriah Brahmin, translated several documents for Mackenzie in 1799. According to a biographical account written by Boriah's younger brother, he began working for Mackenzie as a writer in 1794, or possibly earlier.[2] Through Boriah, Mackenzie also met his other younger brother, Kavali Venkata Lakshmiah Brahmin. When Boriah died unexpectedly in 1803, Lakshmiah became Mackenzie's new head translator. Lakshmiah was the first Indian to gain admission to the Madras Literary Society which had been founded in the late 1820s, and in 1833 he became the first President of the Hindu Literary Society in Madras.[3] Mackenzie also employed their other brother, Ramaswami, as a translator. In the late 1820s and 1830s Ramaswami published several books on Indian subjects for an English readership. Some of these writings

built off the work he and his brothers did for Mackenzie, who he refers to as their 'late lamented master'.[4] In another book authored by Ramaswami, he describes the translation work he and his brothers pursued under Mackenzie as follows:

> Among the collections were written traditions and oral testimonies, that had been taken down, as well as legends which, though not implicitly to be relied on, yet furnish so many collateral proofs to strengthen the other materials collected: to these are added an immense number of inscriptions…A peculiar importance is attached to this kind of evidence, in the investigation of Hindu history and chronology…[5]

Besides the three Kavali brothers, there were at least 17 other translators employed by Mackenzie between 1804 and 1821.[6] Research on Mackenzie's Indian translators has only recently come to the foreground[7] and it is hoped that these studies will trigger more investigations. This area deserves more research, especially in light of the current debates over the nature of early colonial knowledge.[8]

Mackenzie also relied on his European colleagues to provide him information. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in a letter Mackenzie distributed to his colleagues, titled 'Memorandum of the Means of Procuring Historical Materials regarding the South of India'. A copy of this letter is held in the British Library's Mackenzie Collection[9] while another copy, which was personally sent by Mackenzie to his colleague William Erskine on 14 February 1808, is held in the National Library of Scotland.[10] These identical letters identify the various geographical areas where Mackenzie hoped to find additional information, and the different forms this information could take. Besides notices on buildings and sculptures, he asked for any information provided through manuscripts, oral accounts, records, registers, coins, plates, poems, and stories. This list of enquiries was a general call for historical information that must have been sent out to virtually everyone Mackenzie could think of. The letter ends by saying that 'communications to Major Mackenzie are directed free of postage by order of Government, to render a certain degree of facility to this attempt',[11] so Mackenzie had obviously received a certain level of support from the East India Company. It is difficult to say how successful this petition for information was but, no doubt, there are many items in the Mackenzie Collection dating from 1808 onwards that were prompted by this letter.

One of Mackenzie's colleagues who we know replied to this letter was James Lillyman Caldwell (1770–1863). In his dated 1808, Caldwell described to Mackenzie the excavation of a prehistoric burial site near Coimbatore. Accompanying this letter is another description by Caldwell's colleague, John Garrow, and two sheets of drawings showing pottery and coins unearthed by the two men. Mackenzie shared Caldwell's discovery with other colleagues. In particular, Mackenzie sent news of Caldwell's discovery to William Erskine. A copy of Mackenzie's circular is held in the Erskine papers in Scotland's National Archives, along with a copy of the drawings of coins and terracottas 'found in an ancient Tomb or Cemetery in the Coimbatoor District in October 1808'. A note on the back of the drawing reads 'Mr. Erskine's sample inscription 1809'[12] and it shows the same objects that appear in Caldwell's report. It was unmistakably copied so Mackenzie could forward news of Caldwell's excavation at Coimbatore to Erskine.

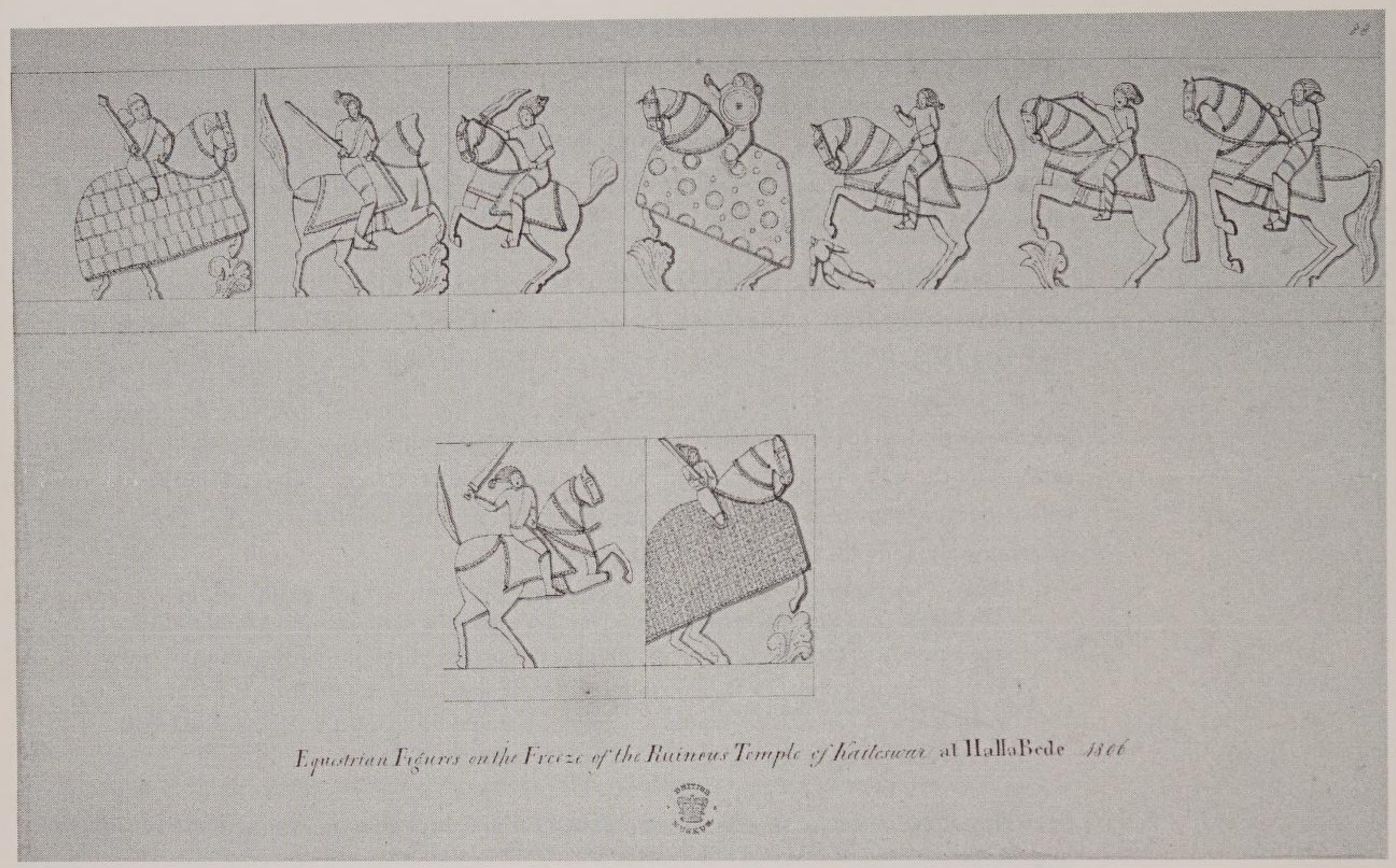
The information that Mackenzie gathered through his Indian translators and European colleagues was intended as a research collection. Many of Mackenzie's contemporaries made use of his collections and acknowledged the important role he played in disseminating information. Amongst these colleagues were Mark Wilks (1760–1831), Benjamin Heyne (d. 1819), and Francis Buchanan (1762–1829), all of whom published books on southern India's history which relied on Mackenzie's collections.

Mark Wilks was the British Resident at Mysore from 1803 to 1808. He possibly knew Mackenzie before 1803, while he was the Military Secretary to Colonel James Stewart between 1798 and 1803. Wilks left India for St Helena in 1808 and while he was posted there, published his two volume work, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*. The first volume came out in 1810 and the second in 1814. This book traces the history of Mysore from as early as the sixteenth century all the way through to the culmination of the Mysore Wars. Wilks credited Mackenzie with providing a great deal of the information used in this two-volume series. For example, while describing the temples at Halebid, Wilks said,

> The curious and interesting ruins of this place have recently been discovered by Major Mackenzie, and identified by inscriptions near the modern village of Hallabe, about 105 miles N.W. of Seringapatam. Note: The sculpture of these ruins, although sufficiently defective, if compared with the Grecian standard, is yet highly interesting…exact facsimiles of the most remarkable parts of this sculpture are in the Mackenzie Collection.[13]

From this quote we know that Mackenzie shared his drawings from Halebid with Wilks, and that directly approaching Mackenzie about this and other information was common. Indeed, copies of many of the Halebid drawings were put into an album prepared by Mackenzie for his colleague, Thomas Strange, in around 1816 (Fig. 2.1).[14] Perhaps Mackenzie prepared similar presentation albums for other colleagues too.

Mark Wilks also researched parts of Mackenzie's collection of grants carved on stone and copper plate inscriptions. Before Mackenzie moved to Calcutta in 1817, his collections were kept at Fort St George in Madras. Wilks tells us that Mackenzie's Collections of 'ancient documents are of a singularly curious texture; they almost always fix the chronology, and frequently unfold the genealogy and military history of the donor and his ancestors'.[15] In the book's preface, Wilks further tells us that one of his key sources of data was a translation provided by Mackenzie of a Kannada manuscript detailing the history of Mysore's kings.[16] The text was probably composed in about 1712–13[17] and was translated into English by Lakshmiah Brahmin. This manuscript, along with others in Mackenzie's Collections, apparently provided the data for a map that Mackenzie prepared and which was placed in the front of the first volume of Wilks' book. This map, titled 'Dominions of Mysoor at the Death of Chick Deo Raja Wadeyar in 1704', is colour coded to show where Mackenzie believed the boundaries of the Wodeyar Kingdom of Mysore existed in the early eighteenth century (Map 2.1). Perhaps this map, and the research connected with it, was used to inform the British decision to reinstate the Wodeyar family as the rulers of Mysore in the early nineteenth century. The connection between British map-making and early historical research in Mysore, and the impact of these investigations on the formation of the Wodeyar Kingdom of Mysore in the early nineteenth century is an area that requires further research.[18]



Equestrian Figures on the Freeze of the Ruinous Temple of Kaileswar at HallaBede *1806*

Fig. 2.1 A drawing of the equestrian sculptural frieze that surrounds the Kedaresvara Temple at Halebid, taken in 1806. This drawing is in an album that Colin Mackenzie presented to Sir Thomas Strange (Add.29324, f.88)

Some of Mackenzie's contemporaries used drawings from his collections to illustrate their writings. Benjamin Heyne's book *Tracts, Historical and Statistical of India*, published in 1814, is one example. Heyne, a Dane by birth, arrived in Tranquebar in 1777 and died at Madras in 1819. He was a botanist by training, and by 1793 had been appointed as the East India Company's botanist working in south India, alongside William Roxburgh (1751–1815).[19] On 25 July 1794 Mackenzie wrote a letter to the Earl of Seaforth mentioning the lack of suitably trained botanists in Madras. He commented that 'our Moravian brothers at Tranquebar' could potentially be employed on survey work as natural historians.[20] In July 1798 Heyne met Mackenzie in Hyderabad and in 1799 Mackenzie appointed him the Botanist of the Mysore Survey. In 1801 Heyne fell out with Mackenzie and by 1802 he was no longer employed on the survey. The cause of this falling out is unclear, but a letter dated 12 July 1801, written by Mackenzie to William Kirkpatrick, tells us that during the Mysore Survey, Heyne repeatedly took sick leave.

> Dr. Heyne… remains sick (as he says) at Bangalore. I cannot help being a good deal surprised at the whole of this long protracted series of conduct; but as he has put it on that footing I shall now only say that I consider the example as very detrimental to this branch of the service as it would indeed to any other.[21]

Although Heyne's refusal to leave Bangalore on health grounds prevented Mackenzie from pursuing botanical investigations in the field, this 'protracted illness' resulted in Heyne becoming

Part of the NIZAMS Dominions
Part of the Territories
Part of the Territories
Part of the Territories

a 'Mode of dying red cotton yarn' (pp. 204–17). In one part of his book he reproduces drawings of two ploughs (p. 75) from a drawing in the Mackenzie Collection. Labelled as 'Fig 1' and 'Fig 7' in Heyne's book, they appear in a Mackenzie drawing of 'instruments of tillage' used in Mysore (Fig. 2.2). The drawing of ploughs is part of a set of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection showing simple mechanical tools, including cannons, leading one to believe that Mackenzie was responsible for their collection, and Heyne made use of the drawings of ploughs to help illustrate his book. Mackenzie's draftsman, or someone who was in contact with Mackenzie during the survey, must have made the original drawings while doing survey work.

Mackenzie also influenced Francis Buchanan's work in India. Buchanan was a surgeon, a surveyor, and a natural historian who collected hundreds of surviving drawings relating to his work, many of which are now held in the British Library.[24] Besides his work in Mysore, he took part in surveys of Assam (1793–4), Nepal (1802–3), and Bengal Presidency (1807–14). He collected drawings and maps from these other surveys, but the majority of his drawings were collected during the Bengal Survey, after 1807, perhaps in reaction to the example Mackenzie projected with his steadily increasing collection of drawings during the Mysore Survey (1799–1810). Buchanan also oversaw the collection of natural history drawings at Barrackpur between 1804 and 1807, under the patronage of Arthur Wellesley. There is some overlap between the Buchanan albums of natural history drawings and those collected by Mackenzie during the Mysore Survey. For example, a picture of a Malabar squirrel (Fig. 2.3) in the Buchanan Collection was also copied into one of Colin Mackenzie's albums of natural history drawings. The Buchanan drawings in the British Library require further research in connection with the life and work of Francis Buchanan and his contemporaries.

Mackenzie also drew upon the work of his colleagues. In particular, Mackenzie went to places that had been visited by Francis Buchanan. Buchanan's *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, was written in three volumes and effectively acted as a full report on Buchanan's travels through Mysore, Kanara, and Malabar from 1800 to 1801. It was dedicated to 'The Court of Directors for the Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England'.[25] In volume three, Buchanan described his visit to Halebid in 1801 that predated Mackenzie's first investigations.[26] Also in the third volume, Buchanan described a journey between 2 May and 3 June 1801 that took him to Sravana Belgola on 19 May. A picture accompanying this account shows the sculpture of Gomatesvara atop Vindyagiri hill of Sravana Belgola.[27] In December 1801 Mackenzie collected a drawing of the same colossal sculpture at Sravana Belgola (Fig. 2.4), which was published in an article in 1809 titled 'Account of the Jains' in *Asiatick Researches*.[28] Almost five years later, in September 1806, Mackenzie and his survey team made more detailed investigations of the monuments and history of Sravana Belgola which were obviously important for his article in *Asiatick Researches*.

Was Mackenzie a historian or a just a collector of historical documents? He was certainly intent on amassing a huge body of historical information about India, but he did little to interpret this information. Mackenzie's connections with authors such as Wilks, Buchanan, and Heyne suggest that he was just as interested in providing data to his colleagues who did historical research as he was with generating any writing of his own. Mackenzie's career in India began in 1783 and he started collecting in earnest in 1793 when he was promoted to the rank of a

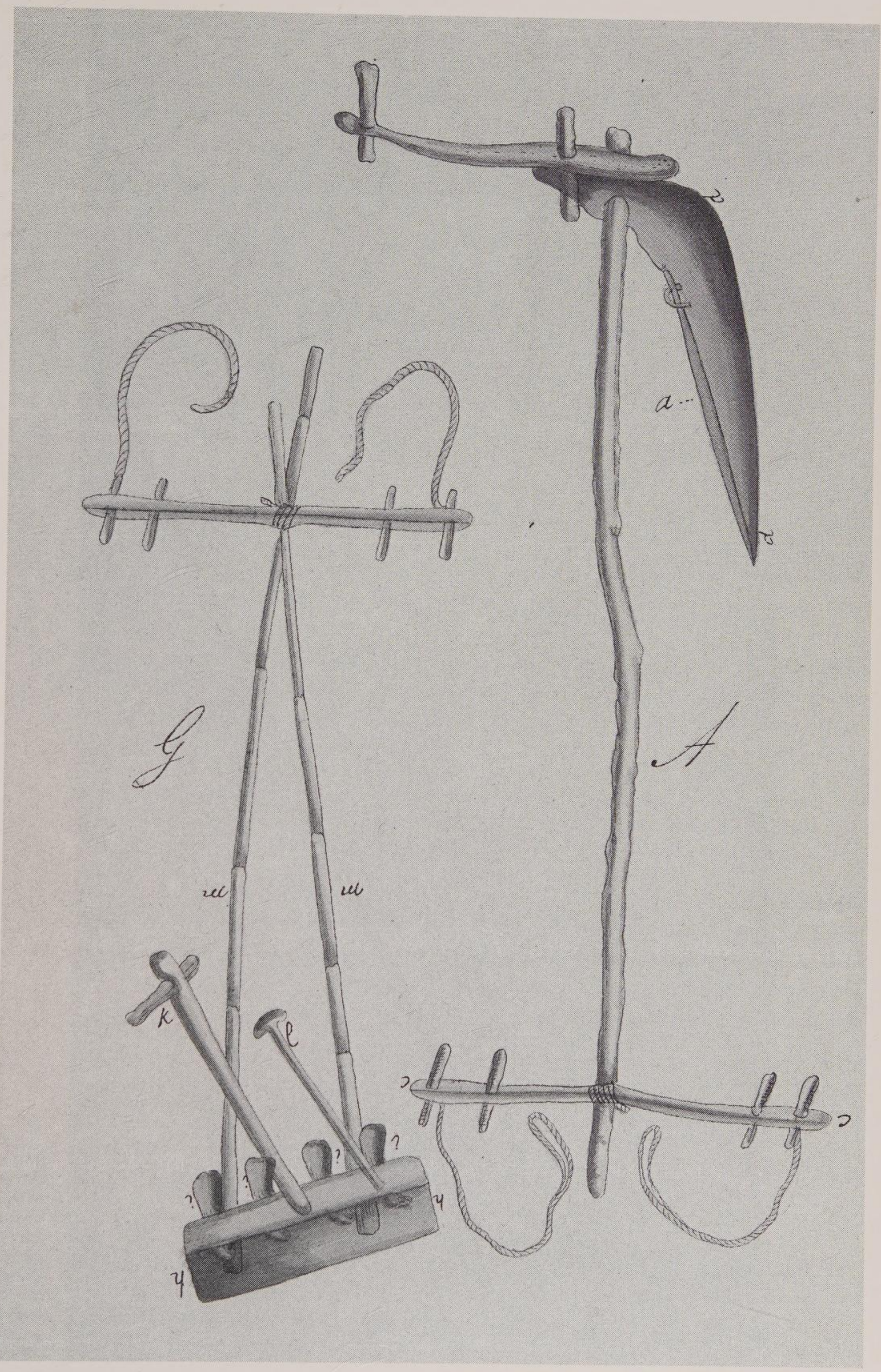


Fig. 2.2 A drawing of two ploughs collected during the Mysore Survey (WD601)

Fig. 2.3 Watercolour of a Malabar squirrel from an album of Natural History Drawing assembled by Francis Buchanan (NHD 3/510)

captain. His first articles were written in the 1790s, but by the end of the Mysore Survey he was writing less about his collections and travels.[29] As his work progressed, and he could afford to employ more assistants, his collections grew, but his writing output decreased. In a letter dated 14 October 1801 he wrote,

> My materials are increasing [and] they will probably go far to form a work on an earlier period elucidating the History and Customs of this Country. The idea has been some time floating in my mind but it will require an abler pen to dress them up to advantage.[30]

The act of collecting apparently came more easily to Mackenzie than interpretation, and he hoped that someone else would have the inclination to publish research based on his collections. In the same letter, Mackenzie stressed the importance of properly translating into English the documents and inscriptions he and his pandits gathered in the field to provide data for any possible authors of such historical accounts.[31]

Mackenzie certainly had a deep understanding of the importance of inscriptions for assembling histories. This is the topic of an essay he wrote during the later stages of the Mysore Survey.

> The advantages of collating and comparing ancient inscriptions and thence deriving illustrations and credible evidence of remarkable events; of explaining doubtful dates and facts elucidating what is obscure or uncertain and rejecting what is fabulous or absurd in the more ancient history of countries, of institutions and of science is so well known and deemed so useful in developing the earlier state of the nations of Europe, that their application in that of India might be deemed equally desirable. This indeed appears to have been always sufficiently understood; and the opportunity of collecting a sufficient body of authentic documents of this nature has been wanting rather than a just estimation of their value and utility, or a laudable zealous spirit of liberal research.[32]

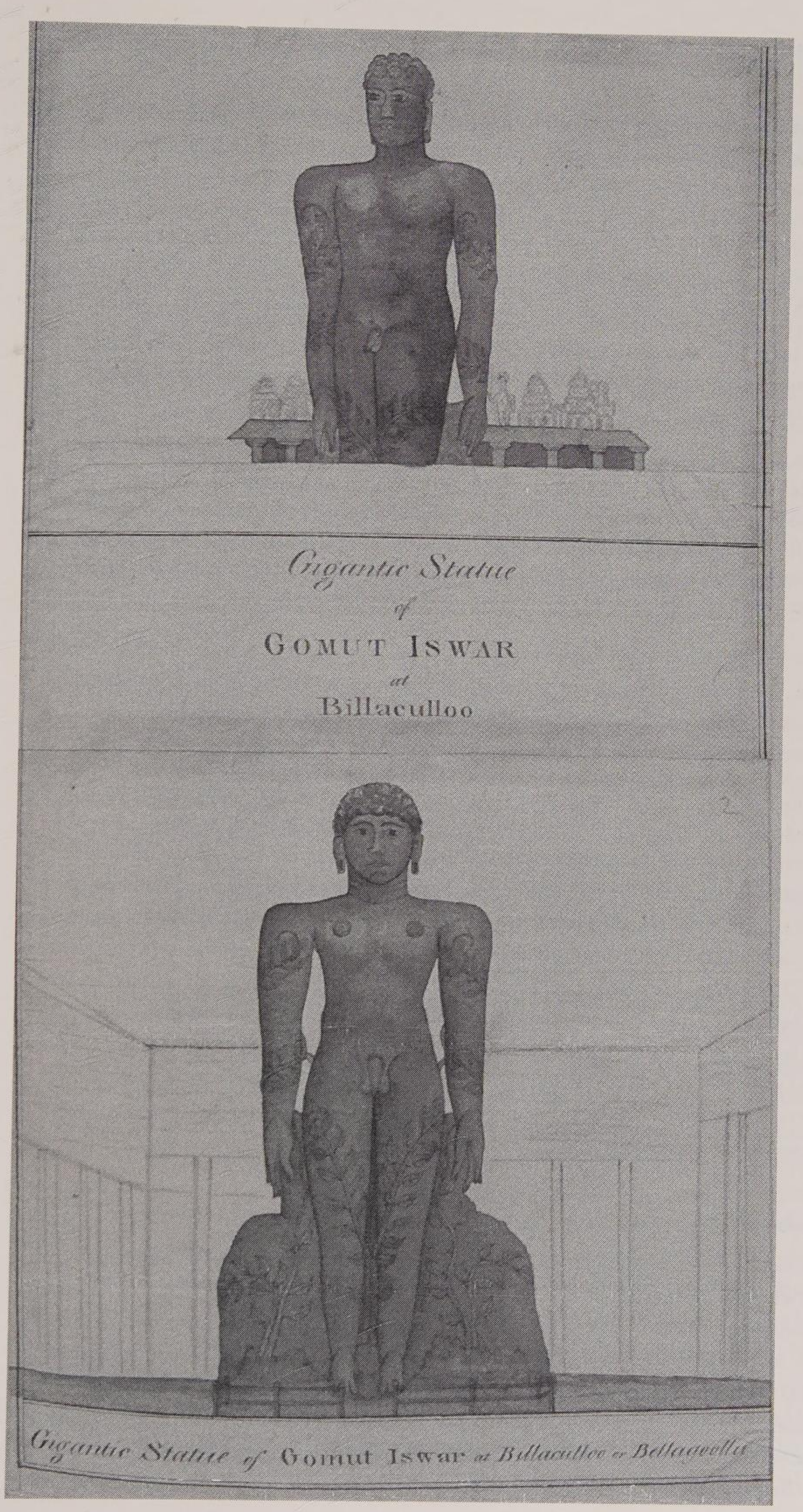


Fig. 2.4 Two drawings by Colin Mackenzie of the great Gomatesvara statue at Sravana Belgola, December 1801. These were published by Mackenzie in *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 9, 1809 (SV97)

The Mysore Survey was a prime opportunity to gather these inscriptions and manuscripts. In the same essay he discusses the aims, pitfalls, and methods encountered while gathering inscriptions.

> On undertaking the survey of Mysore in 1800 it occurred that an attempt to illustrate the History of the South of India in connection with its more immediate objects, at least might be assisted by a series of such investigations in that country, which from its remoteness hitherto from European research and observation, was supposed still to contain more monuments that might have escaped the fanatic depredations of the northern invasions and the equally destructive civil contentions of the indigenous natives than the more exposed provinces near the sea coast....
>
> The variety of languages necessary to be used and the reserve of the natives presented serious difficulties at first when viewed at a distance but the sanguine hope of assisting in however subordinate a capacity those investigations that have distinguished our country men in India of late years encouraged an attempt undoubtedly requiring better qualifications; the time was favorable and the opportunity not to be lost which it was hoped might excuse the presumption of an undertaking that was still viewed with a just degree of diffidence.[33]

Mackenzie's essay continues with descriptions of the different varieties of inscriptions gathered in Mysore, beginning with *sassanam*s or grants and then considering the different languages that these inscriptions were written in. The essay functions as the introduction to a catalogue of inscriptions listed in two of the Mackenzie manuscripts.[34]

A lot of Mackenzie's drawings were facsimiles of inscriptions that were copied and distributed amongst his Orientalist colleagues. Mackenzie's Indian translators often composed English translations to accompany these facsimile inscriptions. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the translation of inscriptions and manuscripts was a new area of investigation that was expanding research on India's history. In Calcutta, the first Orientalist research was pioneered by Charles Wilkins (1749–1836), William Jones (1746–94), and Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), all based in Calcutta in the late eighteenth century. In 1781 Wilkins became the first person to publish an English translation of a Sanskrit inscription.[35] Sir William Jones was the Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William from 1783 until his death in 1794, and was also a dedicated linguist who knew Persian and Sanskrit. Henry Colebrooke was similarly employed in the courts of Calcutta. He began his language studies through an interest in indigenous legal systems.

Madras-based Orientalists

The study of languages and inscriptions began to flourish in Madras during the early nineteenth century, when men such as Francis Whyte Ellis (1777–1819) agitated for the study of South Indian languages to become part of the repertoire of languages considered important in Calcutta (Sanskrit and Persian). He came to Madras in 1796, was based there for most of his time in India, and died in Ramnad in 1819. His interest in the Tamil and Telugu languages led to his involvement with establishing the College of Fort St George.[36] Founded in 1812, the College was established to counteract the deficient quality of vernacular language instruction in Madras. Before it was founded, newly arrived East India Company recruits from Britain had to

independently employ teachers if they wanted to study Indian languages in Madras. The College at Fort St George aimed to bring language tuition in Dravidian languages, as well as other South Asian languages, to a new standard by offering good salaries to Indian teachers with a thorough knowledge of both English and South Asian languages.[37] To this end, the school's headmaster, for Sanskrit and Telugu was a learned brahmin named Vedam Prattabhirama Shastri (1760–1820) originally from Nellore District.[38] Newly arrived civil servants were expected to study at the college for three years, and Indians studied there to obtain the prerequisite knowledge of English grammar that the college expected of its teachers.

Ellis saw Indian intellectuals as holding a pivotal role in the translation of manuscripts and inscriptions. This view can be traced to a reaction to a proposal outlined by James Mackintosh, written on 24 February 1806, which suggested a programme for funding the publication of English translations of Indian literary works, dictionaries, and grammars.[39] Although Mackintosh did not suggest who exactly should do this work, it is implicit that he felt Europeans could do it. In a letter from Tanjore, probably written while he was the Judge and Magistrate at Kumbakonam in 1806,[40] Ellis outlined a proposal to Mackenzie about how to go about effectively translating Indian manuscripts into English. Ellis began by describing the recommendations of James Mackintosh.[41]

> His aim appears to be directed to induce Europeans to become Translators, but who amongst us, while attentive to his ordinary pursuits, has time for this? And what compensation could the proposed mode of subscription hold out to any of us of consequence sufficient to induce us to abandon those pursuits for the Missionaries of Serampore…I might doubt their taste, what could their exertions in the Sea of Sanscrit literature produce? Perhaps a prosaic translation of the Ramayanam, but by no means the extensive fabric Sir James would wish to rear.[42]

Ellis is here referring to the Danish colony at Serampore (Srirampur), to the west of Calcutta. This colony became an important centre for missionary activity, and was responsible for the translation and publishing of the Bible into Indian languages.

The Serampore Press was heavily criticized by many of Mackenzie's associates, such as Francis Whyte Ellis and John Leyden.[43] Since there was a lack of involvement by Indian intellectuals in the enterprise of translation in Calcutta and Serampore, Ellis proposed that Mackintosh's proposal was flawed. The solution Ellis put forward to eliminate this problem was to ensure that learned Indians had a sound understanding of the English language. 'The introduction of a barbarous jargon [Urdu], which serves the Europeans and natives of Bengal as the medium of communication, appears to have prevented the latter from acquiring any knowledge whatever of the English language.[44] In Ellis' view, the use of Urdu in Calcutta was preventing the very people who were best equipped to translate these texts from learning grammatically correct English. Ellis proposed another way of translating Indian texts, which ran against the Calcutta model of James Mackintosh. He suggested bringing together 'English and Hindu Scholars, to have by these means, translated such works of merit as I could most readily procure, from Sanscrit and Tamil in every branch of literature'.[45] Ellis' letter continues with a detailed proposal about how to create and structure such a school of translators, suggesting where funding could come from and how the payment of monthly salaries to the pandits supervising the translations would form the backbone of such a school.

Fac-Simile of a Copper Inscription
in the hands of Mr Ellis of MADRAS
Sept^r 1809

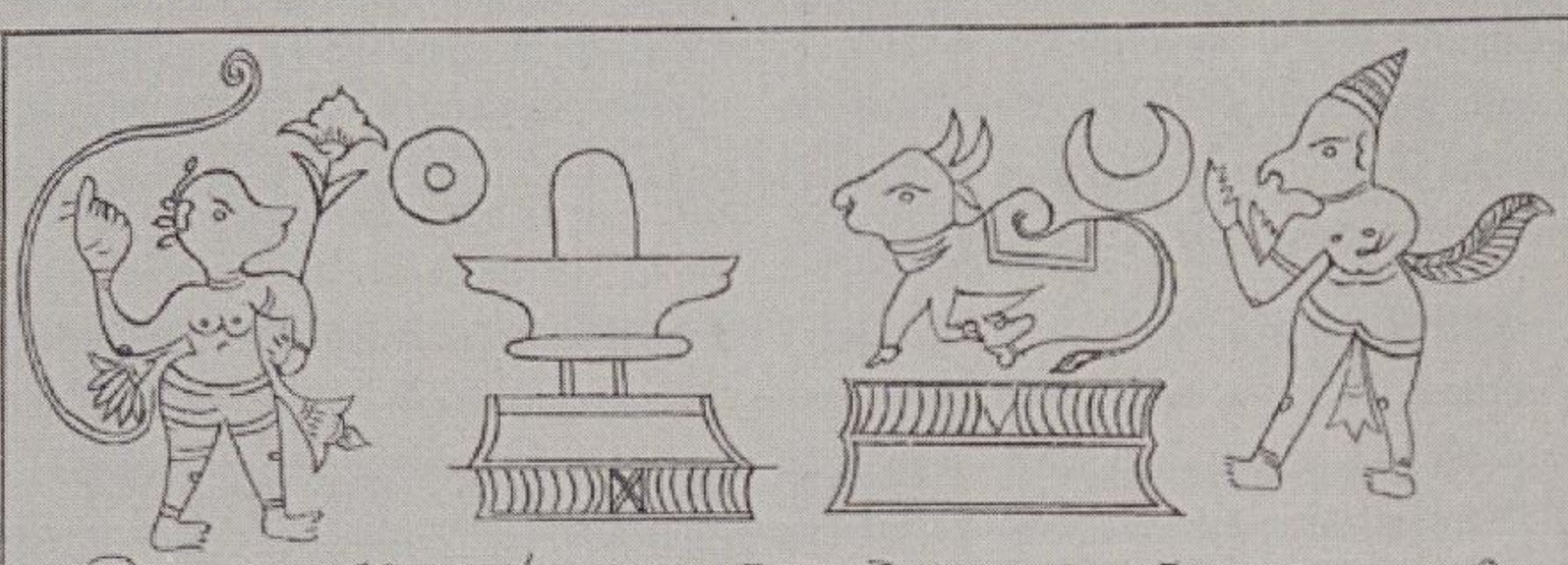


Fig. 2.5 The first folio of a two page facsimile inscription. This Telugu copper plate was owned by Francis Whyte Ellis and drawn by John Newman in September 1809. It is held in an album of facsimile inscriptions gathered by Colin Mackenzie (WD1067, f.134)

The principle outlined by Ellis in his letter of 1806, to employ Indians with a sound knowledge of English grammar to work alongside Europeans at translating South Indian texts and inscriptions, was already the basis for Mackenzie's translation work by that time. Mackenzie had been employing Indian translators who were proficient in English, such as Boriah, to translate Indian texts since the 1790s. Perhaps Mackenzie's translators inspired Ellis' plan, and perhaps this is why Ellis was compelled to write to Mackenzie about it. Through the serendipity of meeting Boriah it appears that Mackenzie was the first European in Madras to pioneer this approach to translating Indian texts. Ellis must have viewed Mackenzie as an important colleague who could engage in a discussion about the establishment of the proposed college.

Further testimony to the interactions between Ellis and Mackenzie is found in a couple of drawings. In Mackenzie's album, titled 'A Collection of Original Specimens in Fac Simile of the Ancient Written Characters of India', there are drawings of a large copper plate inscription owned by Ellis (Fig. 2.5).[46] These drawing were prepared by John Newman on 2 September 1809. They demonstrate that Mackenzie and Ellis made a point of looking at each other's collections. Mackenzie had a substantial collection of inscriptions in Madras,[47] and so too must have Ellis, who commented that 'Major Mackenzie is digesting the very extensive information he possesses, and more is daily collecting.'[48] Indeed, Mackenzie's mountain of information was heaped high in Madras, where his atelier of Indian translators were hard at work.

Although Mackenzie respected Ellis' ability to compose verse in south Indian languages, in a letter he wrote to Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of Madras, dated 2 November 1807, there is reason to believe that he had doubts about Ellis' abilities. On the whole, Mackenzie complimented Ellis' work, but one wonders whether this flattery was merely a respectful convention, and serious doubts were actually being waged about a poem Ellis composed in old Tamil. The poem in question was going to be inscribed onto a monument that was being constructed next to the beach at Madras, possibly as a memorial to Boriah.[49] If the poem was indeed composed to be placed on such a memorial, Mackenzie was probably concerned that it should adequately reflect Boriah's industry and achievements. Mackenzie showed Ellis' poem to an Indian student of the Tamil language to gain his opinion of it.

> I gave the original to a young man in this neighbourhood who is studying the Tamil to get a translation. Yesterday he told me that his teachers do not understand a word of it and that it could be alone understood they said by him who composed it…we may collect from this that the high Tamul and poetic language is not easily understood by the generality of Malabars and that there are few in fact that understand it. And this in my opinion strengthens the favourable opinion I entertain of Mr. Ellis' capacity and industry who has made himself the master of a language and stile so difficult to attain and so rare to have access to.[50]

Mackenzie had not mastered any Indian languages and admired Ellis' ability to compose in high Tamil, but one wonders why he felt it was necessary to test Ellis' abilities by asking the Indian student to provide a translation. When the student came back to him saying it was impossible for his teachers to translate the poem, Mackenzie pointed out the problem of inscribing a poem onto a monument that was undecipherable to the Tamil educated public: 'Whether the Epitaph thus necessarily intelligible but to few should be placed on the Monument will be another matter'.[51] It thus appears that through his close work with local pandits, Mackenzie put into question

the appropriateness of Francis Whyte Ellis' composition. This is understandable under the circumstances, particularly if the monument in question was being constructed in memory of Boriah.

The other recognized scholar in early nineteenth century Madras was Thomas Strange, the recipient of the letter cited above. He was the Chief Justice of Madras from 1801 to 1817, and a friend of both Mackenzie and Ellis. Being a judge, Strange was interested in learning about indigenous legal precedents. His research into indigenous legal practice and its incorporation into a British legal format led him to publish two books. The first of these, *Notes of Cases at Madras, 1798 to 1816* was published in three volumes in 1816. The other book, published in two volumes, was titled *Elements of Hindu Law* and published in 1825. The purpose of these books was 'to exhibit an outline of Hindu Law, so far as it is in use in the Courts erected, whether at the Presidencies, or in the Provinces, for administering justice to the Hindu subject of British India'.[52] In the preface to *Elements of Hindu Law* Strange mentions the contributions of F.W. Ellis and of H.T. Colebrooke on numerous occasions, highlighting the authority he placed on looking at their translations of Indian texts to help shape his work. In the early nineteenth century, being a British judge in South Asia entailed making investigations into pre-colonial, indigenous legal systems. Alexander Johnston, the Chief Justice of Colombo, was similarly interested in learning about indigenous legal practices in order to perform his job more effectively,[53] as was William Jones in Calcutta. Mackenzie shared his drawings with Strange, and even assembled an album of mixed drawings and indigenous accounts of monuments from the Tamil region that was probably presented as a gift to Strange shortly before his retirement and departure from Madras back to Britain in 1816. The album contains 103 folios of drawings, many of which are accompanied by Tamil descriptions of their subject matter, and English translations of those Tamil descriptions.[54]

Just like Mackenzie, there is no evidence that Strange was proficient in any Indian languages, so he employed Madras-based Indian scholars to translate the manuscripts. We know from a letter dated 27 December 1803 that Strange employed Ragaviah Achayah Brahmin to do this work. The letter was written by Ragaviah to Strange, and provides a translation of a 'Geography of the Hindoos' that he found at Srirangapattnam.[55] Strange forwarded Ragaviah's translation to Mackenzie so that it could be stored along with the rest of his collections. Ragaviah wrote another letter to Strange in 1807 that says a great deal about the literary interests of Indians such as himself, and proposed the establishment of a literary society at Madras.[56] In this letter Ragaviah discussed how the formation of such a society required a recognized member of the community to found it, perhaps obliquely suggesting that Strange should take up this task. Ragaviah also gave the names of six other learned Indians who were fluent in English and could contribute to the proposed society. His work with Thomas Strange at such a decisive time in the history of oriental investigations in Madras certainly triggered an awareness that Ragaviah pursued in this letter.

Mackenzie knew Sir Thomas Strange and Francis Whyte Ellis socially, as is evident by a trip they took along with their colleague John Leyden (1775–1811), to Mahabalipuram in October 1803. Leyden documented the trip as follows.

> My curiosity having been greatly excited by the accounts which I have heared of the Hindu sculptures and excavations at Mavalipooram or the Seven Pagodas, I embraced an opportunity

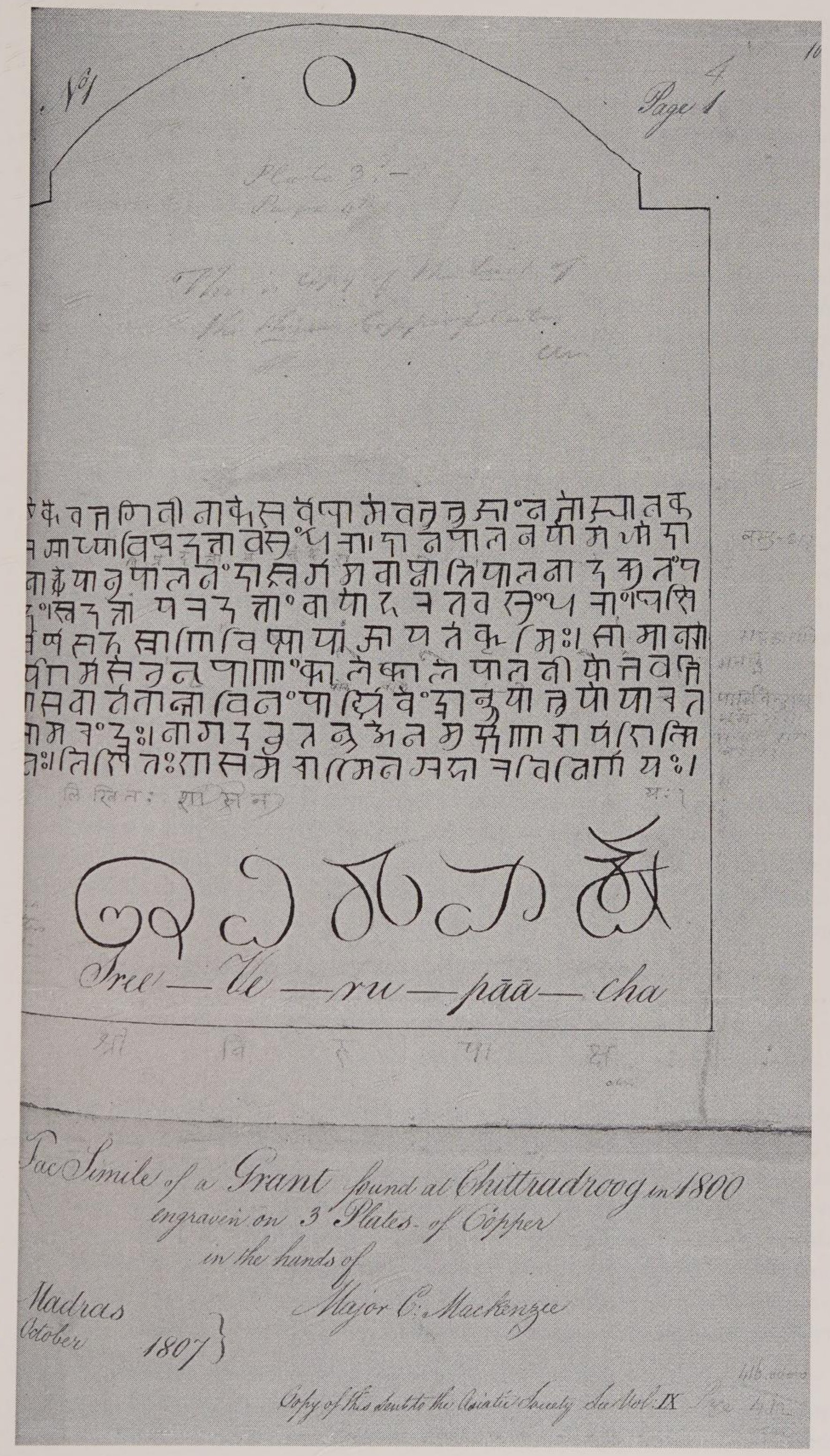

Fac Simile of a Grant found at Chittradroog in 1800
engraven on 3 Plates of Copper
in the hands of
Major C. Mackenzie
Madras
October 1807
Copy of this sent to the Asiatic Society Lecture IX

Fig. 2.6 Drawing of a copper-plate inscription from Chitradurg, collected by Colin Mackenzie during the Mysore Survey and removed to Madras. Drawn in Madras, October 1807 (Mss Eur Mack Gen 18A, f.105)

> of visiting it in company with Major Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Strange and F.W. Ellis Esqr, gentlemen whose company and conversation I was sure would amply compensate for any disappointment which I might experience from the view of these ancient caves and ruins.[57]

Mackenzie counted John Leyden amongst his great friends, and regularly corresponded with him. His affinity with Leyden possibly arose from their similar humble backgrounds. Whilst Mackenzie was the son of the postmaster at Stornoway, Leyden was the son of a poor shepherd, who rose to become a student at the University of Edinburgh. He was a talented poet and a linguist who is perhaps best remembered for talking openly and excessively in a high pitched voice.[58] Those who knew him perceived him as either a lively paragon of wit or as a massive source of irritation.

Calcutta-based Orientalists

Mackenzie's drawings also link him with two Calcutta-based Orientalists. Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837) was similarly compelled to study Oriental languages because he felt it would help him with his duties as a representative of the law in India. He was a collector of Sanskrit manuscripts, the bulk of which were deposited in the East India House Library and are now in the British Library. Mackenzie corresponded with Colebrooke, sending him facsimiles of Sanskrit inscriptions he encountered in the field for translation. It is unclear how many facsimiles of inscriptions Mackenzie sent to Colebrooke, nor whether it was Mackenzie's habit to regularly send such facsimiles to Colebrooke in spite of having researchers in Madras who were capable of doing these translations themselves.

In an album of inscriptions in the Mackenzie Collection there are two facsimiles of inscriptions that were translated and published by Colebrooke. The first of these is a drawing of a copper-plate grant found at Chitradurg in 1800 (Fig. 2.6).[59] The copper plate was taken to Madras where it joined the rest of Mackenzie's accumulated collections and the facsimile drawing was made in Madras in October 1807. From this facsimile, Colebrooke published a translation of the inscription in 1807.[60] In the article he mentions that

> Major Mackenzie forwarded a translation of this inscription made by his interpreter Cavelly Boria. The original is, in some instances, read differently by the Pandits whom I have consulted; not however making any change in their purport, nor in any material passage. The following translation is comformable to their interpretation.[61]

While Mackenzie credited Boriah with translating the inscription, Colebrooke enlisted the help of several pandits who rewrote the translation, and this rewriting by anonymous Calcutta-based translators is what Colebrooke published. There are four other inscriptions provided by Mackenzie in this article that Colebrooke might have translated using the same technique.[62] Whilst Colebrooke undoubtedly studied Sanskrit, and Mackenzie did not, both men relied on Indian translators. However, Colebrooke did not acknowledge the Indian men who worked with him in Calcutta. It thus comes across that Madras-based Europeans were more likely to acknowledge the efforts of their Indian translators than Calcutta-based Orientalists.

The other Calcutta-based Orientalist who Mackenzie communicated with about inscriptions was Sir Charles Wilkins (1749–1836). Along with Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Wilkins was an important epigraphist who began his career in Calcutta. He is credited as being

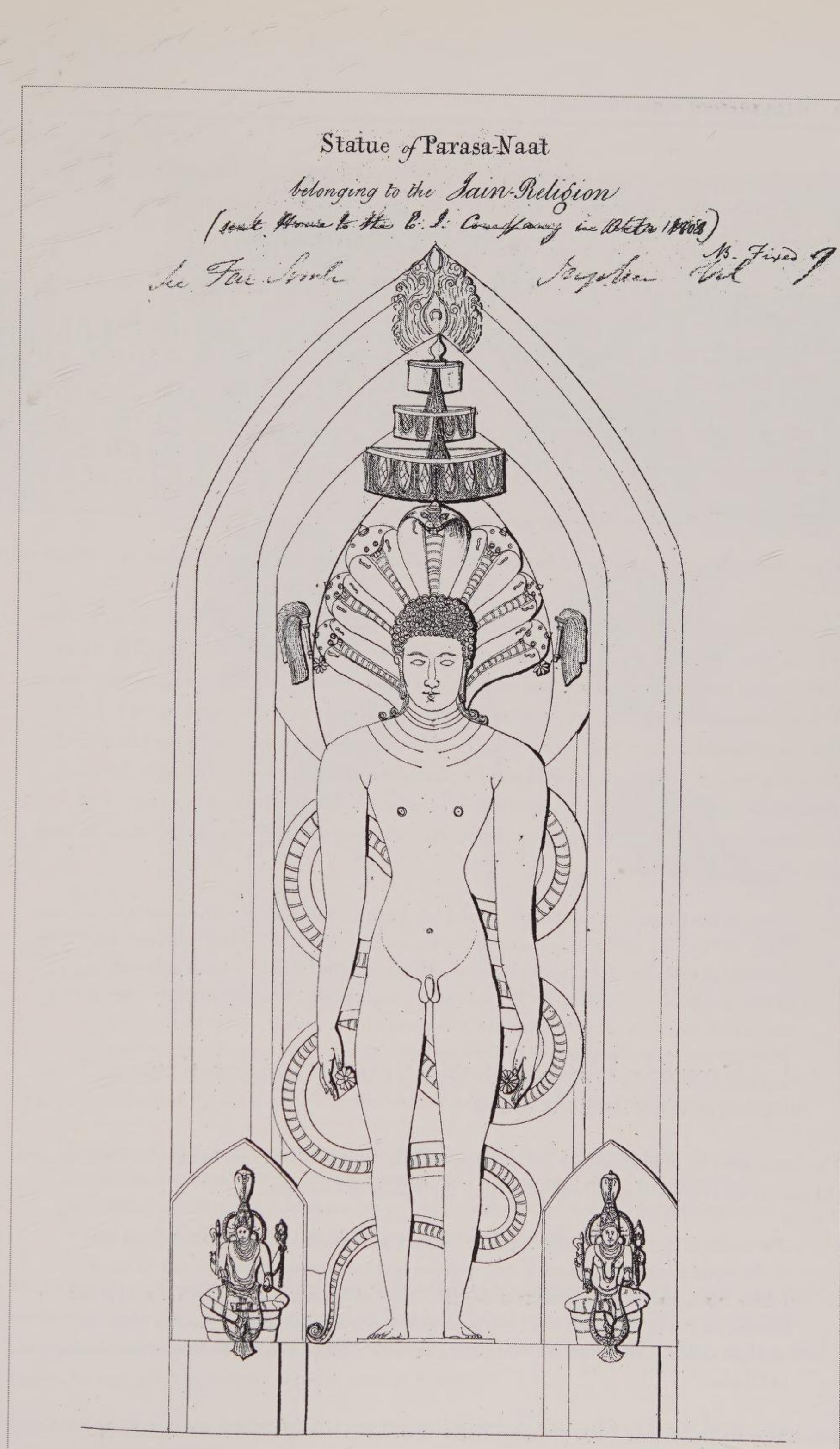


Fig. 2.7 Drawing of a Parsvanath sculpture from Gersoppa. The sculpture was removed from the site by Mackenzie in 1806 and sent to East India House in London, via Madras, in October 1808. (WD1064, f.184) The original sculpture is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (931 IS)

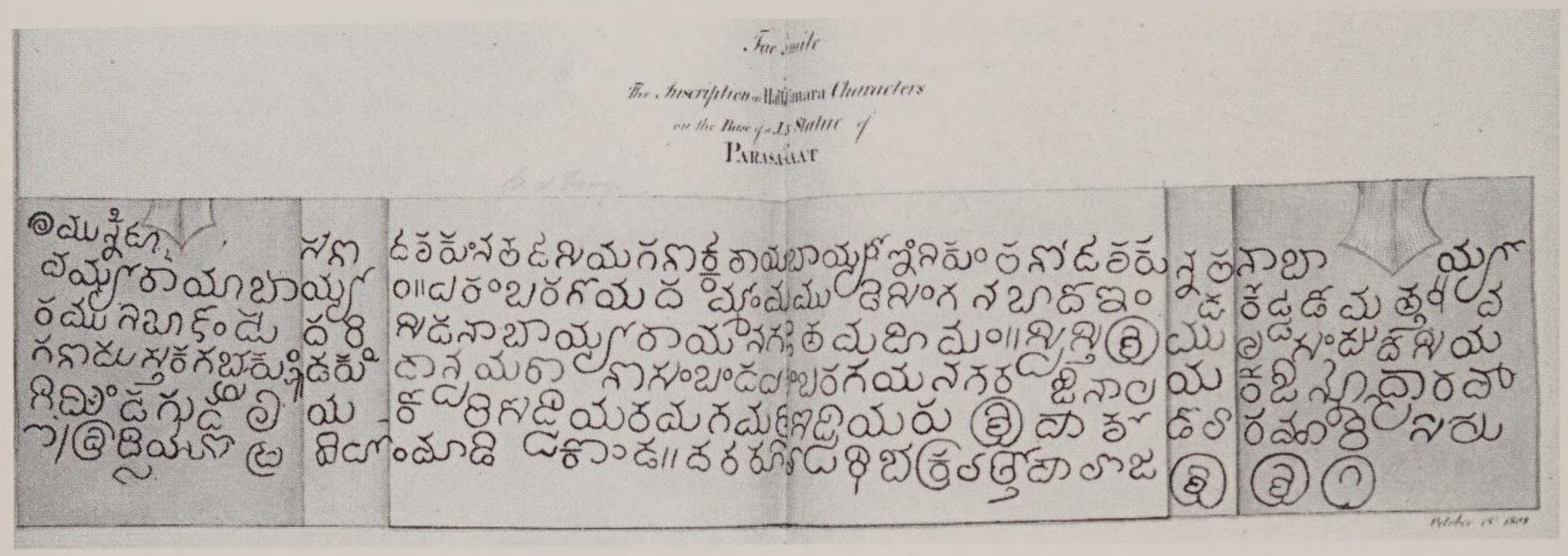


Fig. 2.8 Facsimile of the inscription on base of the Parsvanath sculpture that Mackenzie sent to London in October 1808 (WD1067, ff.89v-90)

the first person to have translated a Sanskrit inscription into English.[63] This translation, written in 1781, was published in the first volume of *Asiatick Researches* in 1788.[64] In 1786 Wilkins left Calcutta and returned to England, and in 1800 he became the first librarian of East India House. Wilkins' departure from Calcutta predates Mackenzie's interest in inscriptions, but it is highly likely that Mackenzie and Wilkins knew each other through the East India House Library, where Mackenzie used to send copies of field reports connected with his surveys. The only surviving correspondence between these two men was written on 25 October 1808. It is a letter from Mackenzie written at Madras that gives details of a Jain sculpture of Parsvanath that he decided to send to East India House.

> I have by the Phoenix, in this fleet, shipped a Jain Statue, addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors; carefully packed up in a strong case, which Captain Marsden of that ship promised to take care of. You are by this time perhaps informed if not already acquainted of this sect, from the papers in the 9th Volume of Asiatic Researches; they assert that at one period, they were in possession of the letters and science of India, and of all Asia; and whatever maybe the foundation of their claims to the superior Antiquity of their opinions and Philosophy to that of the present description of Brahmins, their opinions at one time, evidently seem to have pervaded all India.[65]

The letter goes on to describe the circumstances under which Mackenzie found the sculpture and the reason why he decided to remove it from the village of Garsoppa.

> The statue in question is of one of the 24 Teertars or Prophets who they believe were sent to the world to direct Mankind. It is so well cut, and has escaped so well the fate of many others, being undefaced or unmutilated, that I conceived it would be a proper object for the Museum at the India House; and I therefore had it carried down here, at my own expense, upwards of 500 miles, across the Peninsula, from near Garsoppa on the borders of the Ghaats of Canara.[66]

Mackenzie had a drawing made of the sculpture (Fig. 2.7). It is labelled as a sculpture of Parsvanath that was 'Sent home to the E.I. Company in Octr 1808'.[67] Mackenzie's letter also refers to the inscription on the base of the sculpture, which he describes as 'in Sanskrit, in the ancient

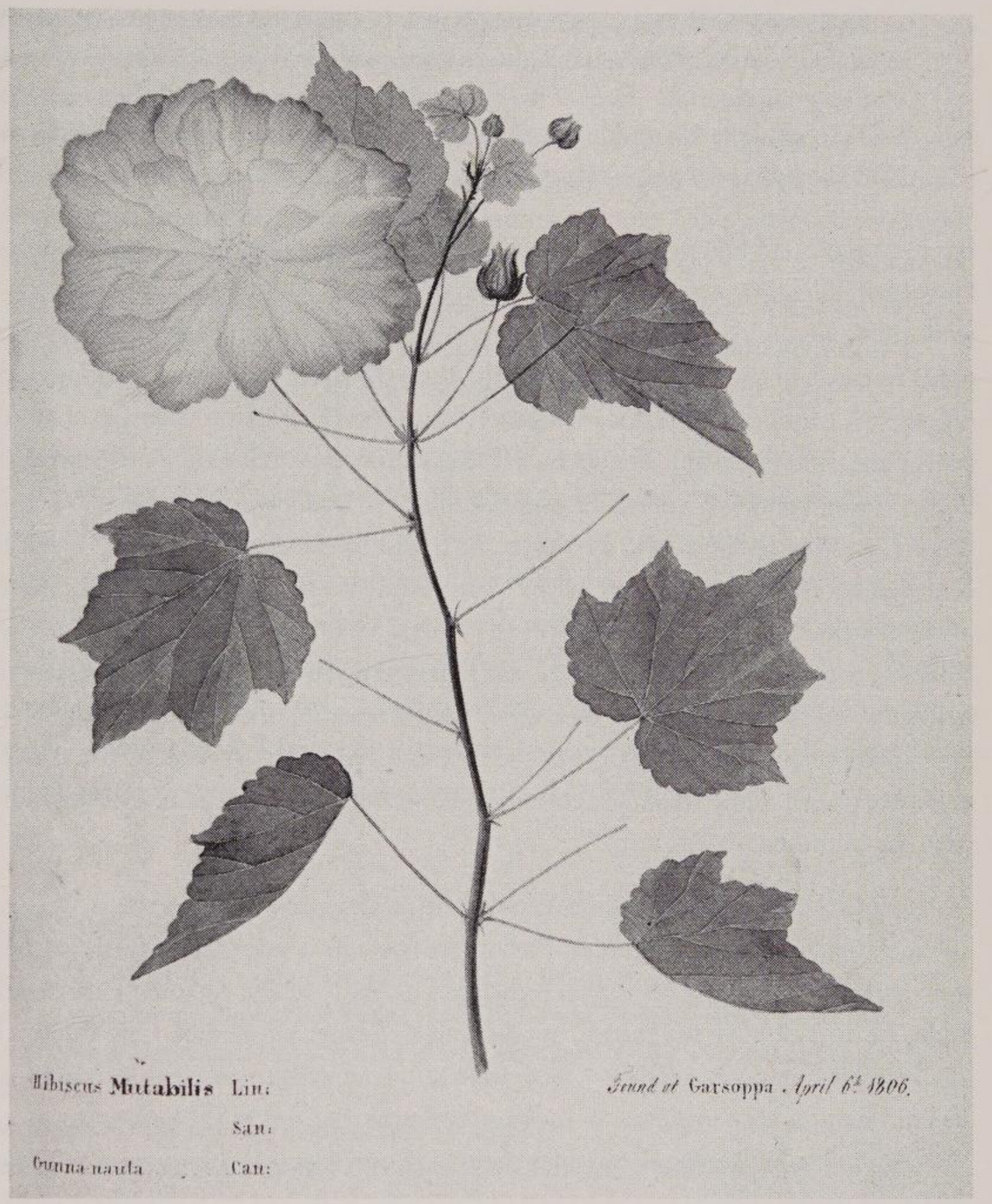


Fig. 2.9 A watercolour of a hibiscus flower taken at Gersoppa on 6 April 1806 (NHD 38, f.46)

Canara Character'. Mackenzie included with the letter a facsimile of the inscription on the base (Fig. 2.8) and a translation that he obtained from a local man who was familiar with the script.

> I inclose a FacSimile of the Inscription; as that Character is now almost become obsolete; but having fortunately met an old Jain Poorohit, who is acquainted with the language and character, by entertaining him in my service I have been enabled to obtain translations of several inscriptions and expect more that are written in that character.[68]

He then goes on to promise Wilkins that he will further investigate the script in question, and endeavour to send a chart explaining its orthography. Mackenzie clearly thought the Sanskrit inscription on the base of the Parsvanath sculpture would be of interest to Wilkins, and for that reason he wanted to ensure its delivery into his hands.[69]

Mackenzie had another motive behind sending this sculpture to London. He was hoping to receive additional financial backing from the Board of Directors so he could diversify the Mysore Survey. In the letter to Wilkins he writes,

> at this distance from England we naturally look for support from them [the Board of Directors]; as we conceive that a pursuit of objects so interesting to the Literary World in general and that may resound to the credit of the National Character, and even to their interests, will not be deprived of the fostering aid and protection of that Great Commercial Body to whom the National Interests in India are committed.[70]

His most profound limitation was the inadequate funding he received from the Board of Directors.[71] His efforts to draw attention to his research by sending various reports were not working, so he decided to send a sculpture to East India House. Perhaps this act raised the profile of his research in the short term, but by the time the India Museum was disbanded in the late nineteenth century, all the documentation Mackenzie had sent to London about the sculpture's provenance was forgotten. The manuscripts and drawings that explain the circumstances of the sculpture's removal from India and transferral to London were deposited in the India Office Library, and the sculpture was moved to the South Kensington Museum.[72] The most decisive clue that connects the sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum with the documentation in the British Library is on the back of the sculpture, where Mackenzie carved 'CMcK 1806'. This was the year when the sculpture was removed from Gersoppa. Although the 1806 date is neither given in the letter to Wilkins, nor on the drawing of the sculpture of Parsvanath, it does correspond with a dated drawing of a red hibiscus. An inscription below the drawing says 'Found at Garsoppa 6th April 1806. This beautiful Flower was observed in one of the Bramin Gardens near the Muntapum' (Fig. 2.9).[73]

Colin Mackenzie is not considered to be an Orientalist because he so openly admitted to not studying any Indian languages. Perhaps he thought it was unrealistic to learn languages that were perfectly known by his Indian translators or, more likely, with the burden of his survey duties he did not have the time to apply himself to language studies. One thing is for certain. Mackenzie's European colleagues, who were involved with translating inscriptions both in Madras and in Calcutta, also made use of Indian translators, but not in such an extroverted fashion as Mackenzie. He let his translators sign their work and assigned their names as the authors of published works, such as the 'Account of the Jains', authored by Boriah Brahmin, and published in the ninth volume of *Asiatick Researches*.[74]

We know that Mackenzie's Orientalist colleagues in Madras relied on learned Indians to translate inscriptions. It is impossible to quantify how much help they received along the model outlined by Ellis in his 1806 letter from Tanjore, where he recommended the full participation of Indian pandits with a strong knowledge of English grammar to work on translations.[75] Were the European Orientalists simply editing translations written by Indians or were they preparing the translations themselves? Reliance on Indian translators for understanding Dravidian languages in Madras was widespread. It is evidenced not just in the work of Colin Mackenzie but also in the work of Thomas Strange. Even talented linguists such as Francis Whyte Ellis and John Leyden depended on Indian translators. In a letter written by Leyden, we learn of his dependence on such help.

> Whatever the natives and other inhabitants [of Vellore] may say, [it] is certainly as hot as a fiery furnace, a circumstance which made me strongly suspect that there must be a volcano in its vicinity. I therefore commend my researches with great ardour but instead of discovering any volcanic products I found an old inscription in a cavern which I copied carefully. My

> Tamul interpreter and I executed all our logic to decypher it but quite ineffectually, and he afterward consulted all the learned Tamulers of Vellore without success.[76]

No doubt, certain European colleagues, such as Ellis and Leyden, knew these various South Asian languages far better than Mackenzie did. Mackenzie disqualified himself from being an Orientalist because he freely admitted that he depended on his Indian translators. The translation methods that he established in the 1790s became the received practice for gathering accurate translations amongst his Madras-based European Orientalist colleagues. Employing highly skilled Indian translators pushed Mackenzie beyond the status of a mere collector and established him as a formidable researcher within the Madras School of Orientalism.[77]

Most of Mackenzie's work comes from the perspective of the surveyor-historian, scanning the countryside for historical records that would help others understand the places being surveyed. As we have seen by Mackenzie's appeal for information relating to the history of south India, he wanted to fill in gaps in his collections in the hope of consolidating a useful body of historical information for his colleagues, his patrons, and the British public. This motive prompted him to develop networks with both Indian and European scholars. Through these networks, Mackenzie succeeded in developing his own collections, and helped his fellow historical researchers to pursue their aims. Through his dealings with learned Orientalist scholars he would have also elevated his status and promoted his mission to gather information in India.

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5. Kavali Venkata Ramaswami, *Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Cities and Places in the Dekkan*. Calcutta: Thacker, 1828.
6. These men are named in H.H. Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*. Madras: Higginbotham, 1882, pp. 569–73. (Section titled 'Class XII: Letters and Reports'.)
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27. Ibid., plate XXXIV.
28. Colin Mackenzie, 'Account of Extracts of a Journal by Major C. Mackenzie, Feb. 24 1797', *Asiatick Researches*, 1809, vol. IX, p. 262.
29. See Chapter 1.
30. Mss Eur F228/19, f.2.
31. Ibid.
32. Mss Eur Mack Gen 18B, f.1.
33. Ibid., f.2.
34. Mss Eur Mack Gen 18A and 18B.
35. *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 1, 1788, pp. 123–30.
36. For a comprehensive account of the College at Fort St George, see Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, p. 116.
37. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, p. 135.
38. Ibid., pp. 103–7 has written about Prattabhirama Shastri and other influential Madras-based Indian scholars in the early nineteenth century.
39. Mackintosh's letter to the Asiatick Society, Calcutta. 24 February 1806. Mss Eur D29, ff.14-19.
40. For more on Ellis' posting at Kumbakonam see Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, pp. 98–9.
41. Mackintosh had previously been the Governor of Bombay, and was responsible for bringing William Erskine (1773–1852) to India. See Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, p. 82.
42. Mss Eur Mack Gen 40, ff.253-254.
43. Leyden wrote a humorous attack on the Serampore Press; Mss Eur F303/442.
44. Mss Eur Mack Gen 40, f.254.
45. Ibid.
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71. For a discussion of Mackenzie's financial problems during the Mysore Survey see P. Robb, 'Completing "Our Stock of Geography" or an Object "Still More Sublime": Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore, 1799–1810', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 8(2), 1998, p. 188.
72. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is on display in the Indian Sculpture Gallery and is accessioned '931 IS'.
73. NHD38, f.46.
74. *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 9, 1809, pp. 244–71. This article was published six years after Boriah's death. Colebrooke added notes to the article.
75. Mss Eur Mack Gen 40, ff.253-254.
76. NLS Ms.3383, f.142. Letter from Leyden to Francis Whyte Ellis, 15 July 1804.
77. The term 'Madras School of Orientalism' was coined by Thomas Trautmann. See Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*. Also by Trautmann, see *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Chapter 3

Trades and Occupations

The People of Mysore

When the Mysore Survey began in 1799 Mackenzie introduced a new genre of drawings into his collections. Along with drawings of places and monuments, he began collecting pictures of people to illustrate the various social groups populating specific regions. Mackenzie referred to the region where his first ethnographic investigations began as 'Balla Ghaat'. In the *Hobson–Jobson* dictionary of Anglo-Indian English, the territory called 'Balaghaut' is described as the area 'above the passes over the range of mountains which we call the Western Ghauts', indicating that it was the western, inland part of modern Karnataka state, and adjacent areas in modern Andhra Pradesh. Mackenzie assembled two albums of drawings showing the people of Balla Ghat. The first of these is in the British Library and contains 79 pictures, most of which were taken in around 1800, illustrating 'Costumes of Balla Ghaut, Carnatic'.[1] The second album, titled 'Costumes of Balla Ghaat, Carnatic, 1802 to 1817', is held in the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta.[2] The focus here will be on the album of drawings held in the British Library that were evidently prepared by a European draftsman.

The Balla Ghat drawings in the British Library connect with numerous documents relating to the early part of the Mysore Survey. Many of these documents are detailed accounts of different groups of people that were gathered by Mackenzie's translators, and correspond with the people depicted in the drawings. The gathering of this information coincides with the work of Mackenzie's colleague, Thomas Munro, who implemented the first colonial revenue collection system in Mysore. Munro's work on the Raiyatwari Settlement and Survey of 1800 influenced Mackenzie's survey work by prompting Mackenzie to investigate local communities in a way he had never approached them before. The accounts Mackenzie gathered of social groups connected with his nascent understanding of local history, focusing on how the ruling elite of the long defunct Vijayanagar Empire operated within the framework of an agrarian society. Mackenzie's investigations of social types and occupations were linked with research on the history of the Vijayanagar Empire. In 1565 the city of Vijayanagar was sacked by a confederation of Deccan rulers. The kingdom never recovered from this catastrophe and went into decline. By 1800, whatever had existed of this once great empire's infrastructure was clearly no longer present, particularly following the severe destructions brought to the countryside by the Mysore Wars. However, to the British, who had become aware of the size and strength of this ancient

regime, the indigenous systems of rule implemented during the Vijayanagar period needed to be rediscovered. Mackenzie plugged together his investigations in Balla Ghat with the fragmentary information he gleaned about Vijayanagar's history.

Both the drawings and the written accounts of trades and occupations at Chitradurg were gathered as part of a general attempt to study 'the various descriptions and classes of Natives, their customs, languages, manners, etc.'[3] Mackenzie's work was an opportunity to make initial enquiries into the social structures encountered in the region. None of the drawings are signed, but judging by the information we have about the draftsmen Mackenzie employed at that time, the draftsman responsible for most of the drawings was either European or Anglo-Indian. Around 1800 Mackenzie employed a draftsman on the Mysore Survey named Monisse, of whom we know extremely little. It is likely that he drew the pictures of trades and occupations in Chitradurg considered here.

We have far more information about Mackenzie's head translator, who was responsible for gathering and translating numerous local histories. Kavali Venkata Boriah Brahmin (here onward referred to as Boriah) was Mackenzie's head research assistant and translator until 1803. He collected most of the written accounts about the people of Mysore during the early part of the survey. These accounts were gathered from local people, translated into English, and written as carefully structured papers. Whilst Mackenzie would have suggested lines of enquiry for Boriah to follow, preconceived colonial ideas about the structure of Indian society did not dominate Boriah's accounts.[4] The basic content of these accounts came from information from local people. Boriah translated and interpreted the information. Mackenzie placed extremely high value on Boriah's abilities, and with direct reference to him, said that, '[A] more than common association of talents in one person [Boriah] joining a competent knowledge of several languages to fidelity accuracy and a vigor of mind superior to common prejudices were a necessary aid [to gathering information].'[5] Boriah's work on the Mysore Survey continued until his death in January 1803. Mackenzie eulogized him in a report he wrote soon afterwards, saying that 'the premature death of this industrious man in January last has deprived me of one of the most useful means I possessed of enlarging my knowledge of this Country'.[6]

The Mysore Survey involved a broad range of investigations that were detailed by Mackenzie in a letter he wrote in January 1800. He identified some of these modes of enquiry as natural history, medicine and diseases, climate, soil, revenue, and population.[7] The drawings, manuscripts, and published sources dealing with the people of 'Balla Ghat' show the ambitious breadth of Mackenzie's research. The written accounts and the drawings look at a myriad of social groups, from the tenant farmers, or *raiyats*, who ploughed the soil to the direct descendants of the king of Vijayanagar. After the Mysore Survey, Mackenzie continued to collect drawings and accounts of other social groups,[8] but the material he gathered on the people of Balla Ghat marked the first instance in Mackenzie's career of such investigations, and is by far the most comprehensive account he ever recorded on this topic.

Many of the drawings in the 'Balla Ghaat' album were taken at Chitradurg, in what is now central Karnataka. The town and fort at Chitradurg held strategic importance during the Fourth Mysore War and was controlled by Tipu Sultan's armies until the British seized it in 1799 (Plate 12).[9] During the Mysore Survey it became an important British military station. Mackenzie

and his survey team frequently stopped there to replenish supplies and to allow those who had fallen ill in the field to convalesce. Between December 1800 and February 1801 Mackenzie's men were stricken by illnesses that caused them 'distress' and 'embarassment', resulting in prolonged stops at Chitradurg.[10] In 1803 Mackenzie and his team of surveyors repeatedly went to Chitradurg to seek medical attention. For 33 consecutive days in around May of that year they stayed at Chitradurg to repair equipment and replenish supplies of cattle.[11] It appears that during these necessary rest stops, while various members of his party prepared for the next stage of the survey, there was time to gather information about the local inhabitants.

Boriah, Mackenzie's head translator, confirmed the subject matter of his investigations at Chitradurg in a report he wrote in 1802. 'At Chittledroog where my master made his central quarter for some time on the Survey I had opportunities of enquiring into the system of revenue management…'[12] Boriah's written accounts of Chitradurg's revenue systems give considerable meaning to the drawings. The largest report compiled by Boriah, titled 'Civil Administration, Police, Commerce and Revenue Management of the Balla Ghaat Carnatic, 1800–1801', provides an astonishing amount of information about agrarian social structures in the 'Balla Ghat' area. Mackenzie obviously considered this report to be extremely important because it was submitted to Richard Colley Wellesley in 1803, while he was the Governor General of India.[13] Boriah wrote three other reports pertaining to the people of Karnataka, but these focus on the history of specific social groups and do not focus so much on division of labour. These other three accounts look at a hill tribe called the Boyas, a Kannada brahmin community called the Madhava Gurus, and the kings of the Vijayanagar Empire. Whilst these detailed historical accounts of specific social groups are of extreme interest, the account submitted to Wellesley about revenue systems in 'Balla Ghat' is by far the most interesting to us today. The breadth of ways that Boriah's research classified the people of Karnataka was extremely comprehensive. Such an understanding of Karnataka's social hierarchies could not have been achieved without the input of local knowledge. This chapter will not be an in-depth study of Boriah's reports on the people of 'Balla Ghat', but such a study would clearly be welcome.

The Drawings

Before exploring Boriah's written accounts, and the associated correspondence authored by Mackenzie and Thomas Munro, the drawings need to be examined more closely. Of these drawings, 79 are in a single album in the British Library titled 'Costumes of Balla Ghaut, Carnatic, 1800–1801'.[14] Most of the drawings in this album were made between July and November 1800. It was one of at least two volumes of such drawings. The second volume, titled 'Costumes of Balla Ghaat, Carnatic, 1802 to 1817', is held in the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta.[15] None of the drawings in the British Library's album are signed, but they were most likely drawn by one of Mackenzie's survey assistants. The only named draftsman in Mackenzie's survey team around 1800–1 was Monisse; in February 1800 Mackenzie wrote that he only had one draftsman, and in a letter dated May 1801 he mentions Monisse by name.[16] There are notes written in pencil on some of the folios making comments about the drawings. For example, one drawing of a Canarese man from the Reddy caste has a note next to it saying 'legs too small' (Fig. 3.1). Perhaps these were Mackenzie's comments, which were intended to help Monisse draw the human figure. Such a skill was probably outside the scope of his training as a military surveyor.

The captions written below the drawings identify the sitters within distinct social categories. The first of these categories relates to the sitter's location, both in terms of the person's place of origin as well as where the picture was drawn. Second, the captions mention the caste group or occupation of the person in the composition. Each of the 79 pictures is labelled with some of these elements. Sixty-seven of the pictures (85 per cent) are captioned with locations, 17 (22 per cent) describe the person as belonging to an alternative language group or place of origin, 54 (68 per cent) identify the sitter with a caste group, and 46 (58 per cent) with an occupation. It is not surprising that most of the drawings are identified with a location, given that the draftsman who produced the drawings would have been a trained military surveyor. Defining locations was the basis of a surveyor's work. Mackenzie's artist also acknowledged the migratory nature of people in India, and noted when people came from a region different from the one they were observed at. This is the case for drawings that note the linguistic group of the sitter. To give one example, there is a drawing of a Marathi tailor that was taken at Honali (Fig. 3.2). By revealing the liguistic group of the sitter, the label reveals which part of the subcontinent the tailor's family emigrated from.

In acknowledgement of these migratory trends, Boriah wrote the following about language-based classifications of people in Balla Ghat.

> Hence it appears that languages are denominated from the Dasoms [desams] or countries whence the nations emigrated not by the tribes or castes; For as the descendants of the Natives of Canara are called *Canareze*
> of Tallunga *Tallungas*
> of Persia *Persian*
> of Malabar *Malabars*
> of England *English*
> in whatever country they may be settled, so in like manner all trades, castes and tribes in India retain the original name and language of the province from whence their ancestors came. Thus we find Mharatta and Canara Brahmins in Madras, Malabars in Ceylon, Tallungas in Hindostan, and Guzaratties settled in various parts of the peninsula, distant from their original Dasoms [desams].[17]

By explaining how language groups identify regionality, Boriah showed that the region a person migrated from is often the more powerful marker of identity than caste or occupation. By far, the most consistent aspect of Mackenzie's classification of trades and occupations is a reliance on geographical location to define the communities of the depicted people. Travelling through Mysore must have made Mackenzie and his colleagues incredibly aware of such migrations, and of the languages and cultures the migrants brought with them.

It is also not surprising that 68 per cent of the drawings bear captions mentioning the caste of the sitter. The organizational principles used to label these drawings are varied, but the overriding importance of identifying caste and occupation say a great deal about the nuanced way Indian social groups described themselves and were viewed by other Indians in around 1800. For example, there are three drawings of people from the Golla or cattle-keeping caste, but each one shows them wearing completely different costumes. The first of these, dated March 1800, depicts a milk woman from Peddanaikdurg Pass, carrying a pot on her head (Fig. 3.3). Her simply styled wrap-around dress was a feature of Golla women. Because she is not wearing a bodice, her

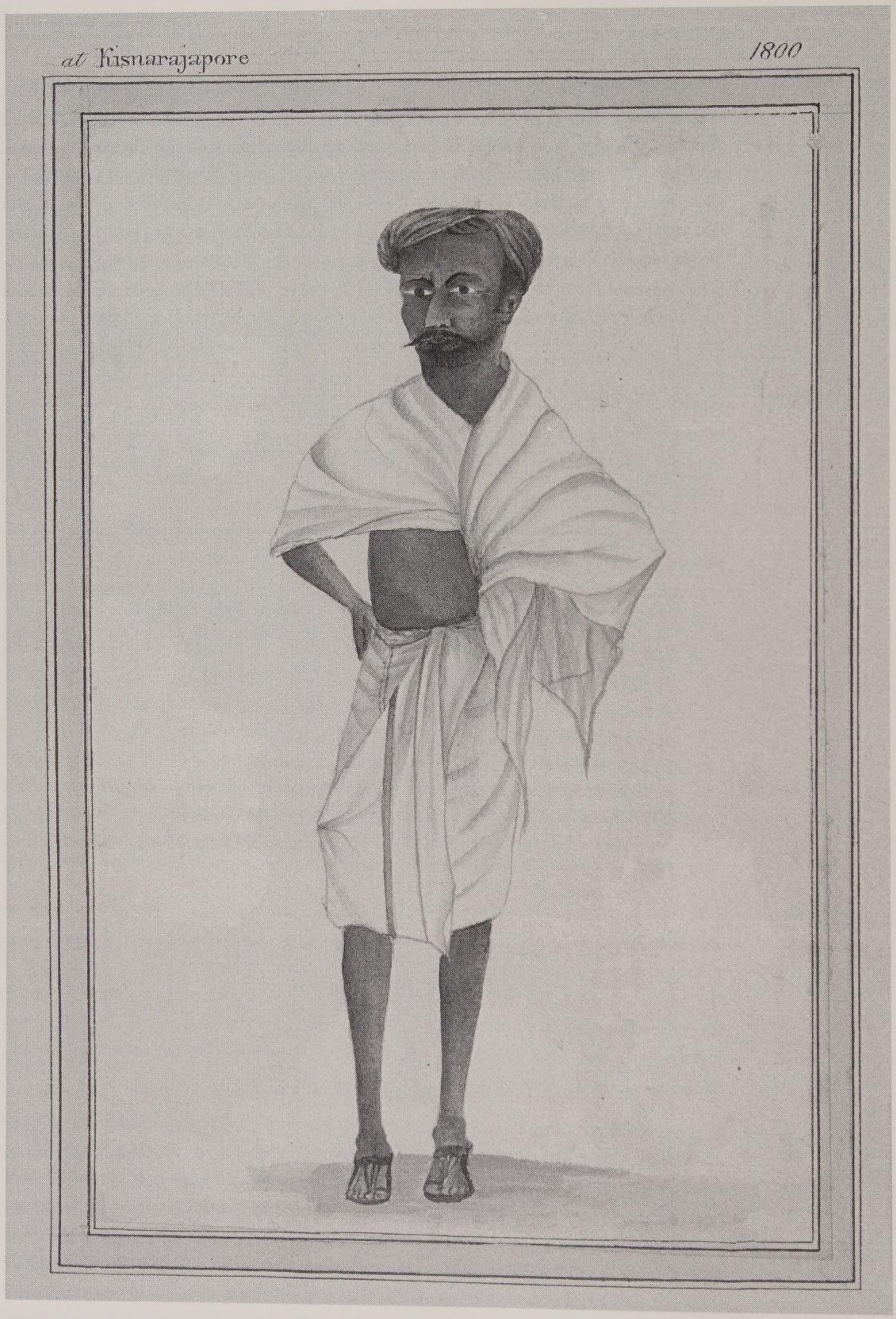


Fig. 3.1 A Canarese man, Reddy caste, from Krishnarajpur (Krishnarajpet?), 1800 (WD1069, f.21)

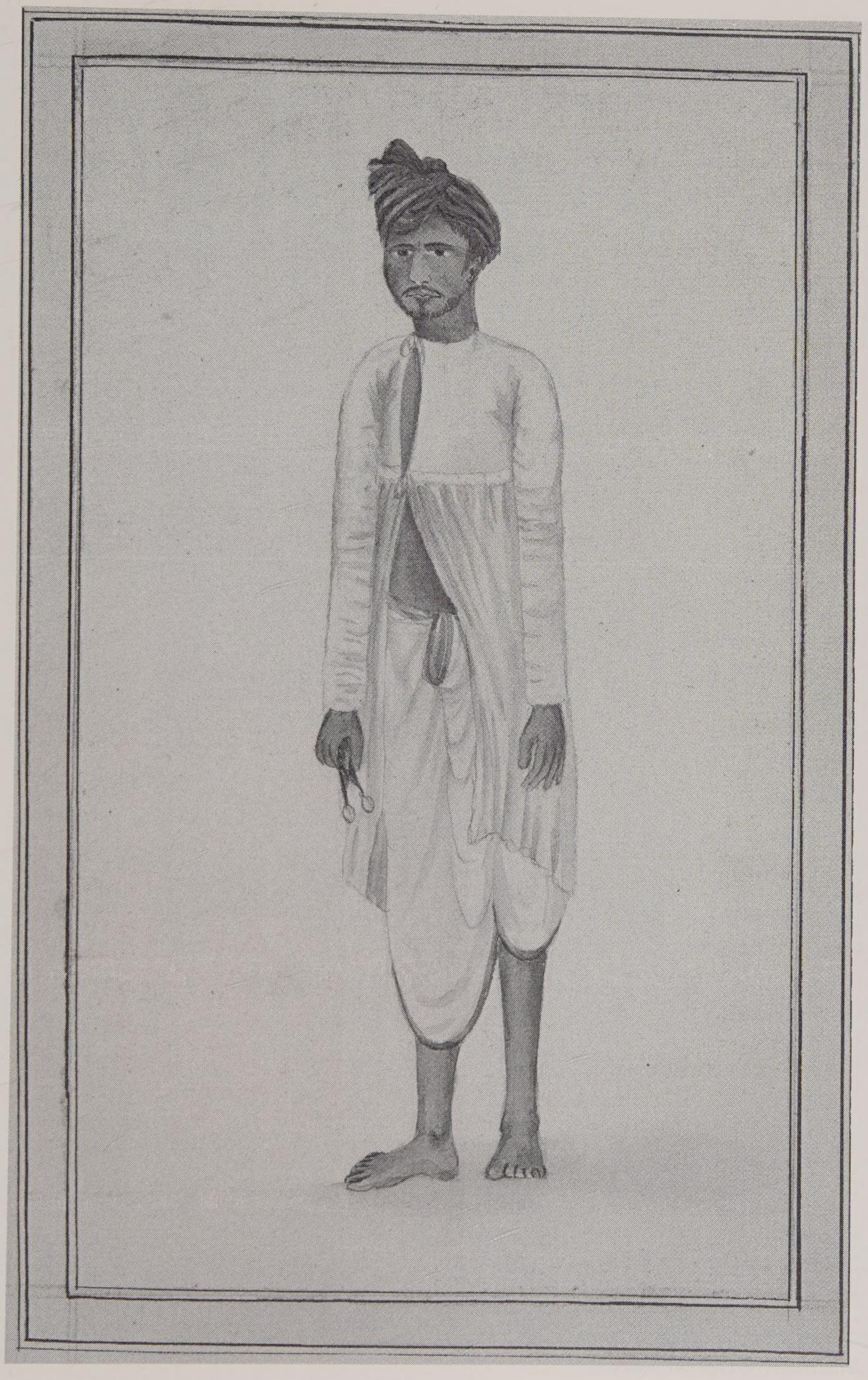


Fig. 3.2 A Marathi tailor at Honelly, 26 July 1800 (WD1069, f.47)

costume indicates that she was a Kadu (forest) Golla.[18] The second picture is of a Golla man and labelled 'A Dassry. Golla Caste' (Fig. 3.4). Here we see a man dressed as an ascetic and carrying objects that could be connected with farming cattle. The third picture shows a group of six men crossing a river in a coracle boat while leading their cattle through the river with ropes (Fig. 3.5). It is labelled 'Cattle and Basket Boats crossing the Toombodra'. These three drawings not only show the different modes of dress worn by different sections of the Golla community, they also indicate the variety of occupations and the stratification of Golla sub-communities in/around 1800.

Fig. 3.3 A Golla woman. 'A Milk Woman of the Coorma Caste at the Peddanaikdroog Pass. March 1800' (WD1069, f.6)

In Boriah's account of the Balla Ghat revenue systems, he wrote about the Gollas, saying that 'the cow keepers or Golla pay a duty to government for the liberty of feeding their flocks and cattle in the public lands'.[19] However, useful information such as this is not appended to the pictures of Gollas. Instead, under the picture of men in a coracle boat, there is a verse that reads as follows:

> The bending willow into barks they twine
> Then line the work with spoils of slaughtered kine
> Such are the floats Venetian Fishers know
> Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po
> On such to neighbouring Gaul allurd by gain,
> The bolder Britons cross the swelling main,
> Like those when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
> The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.
> On these embarking bold with eager haste,
> Across the stream his Legions Caesar past.[20]

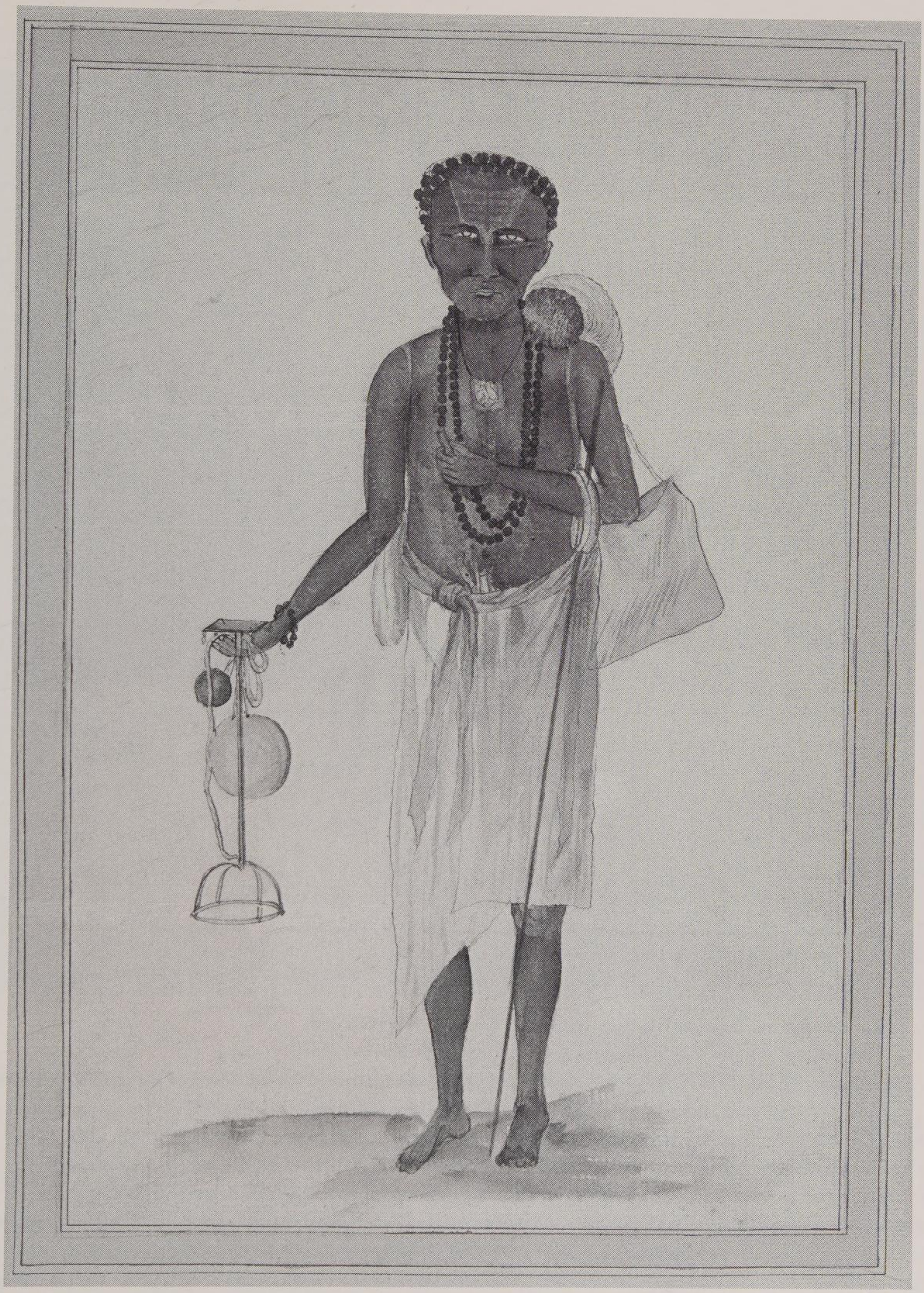


Fig. 3.4 A Golla man. 'A Dassry. Golla Caste' (WD1069, f.10)

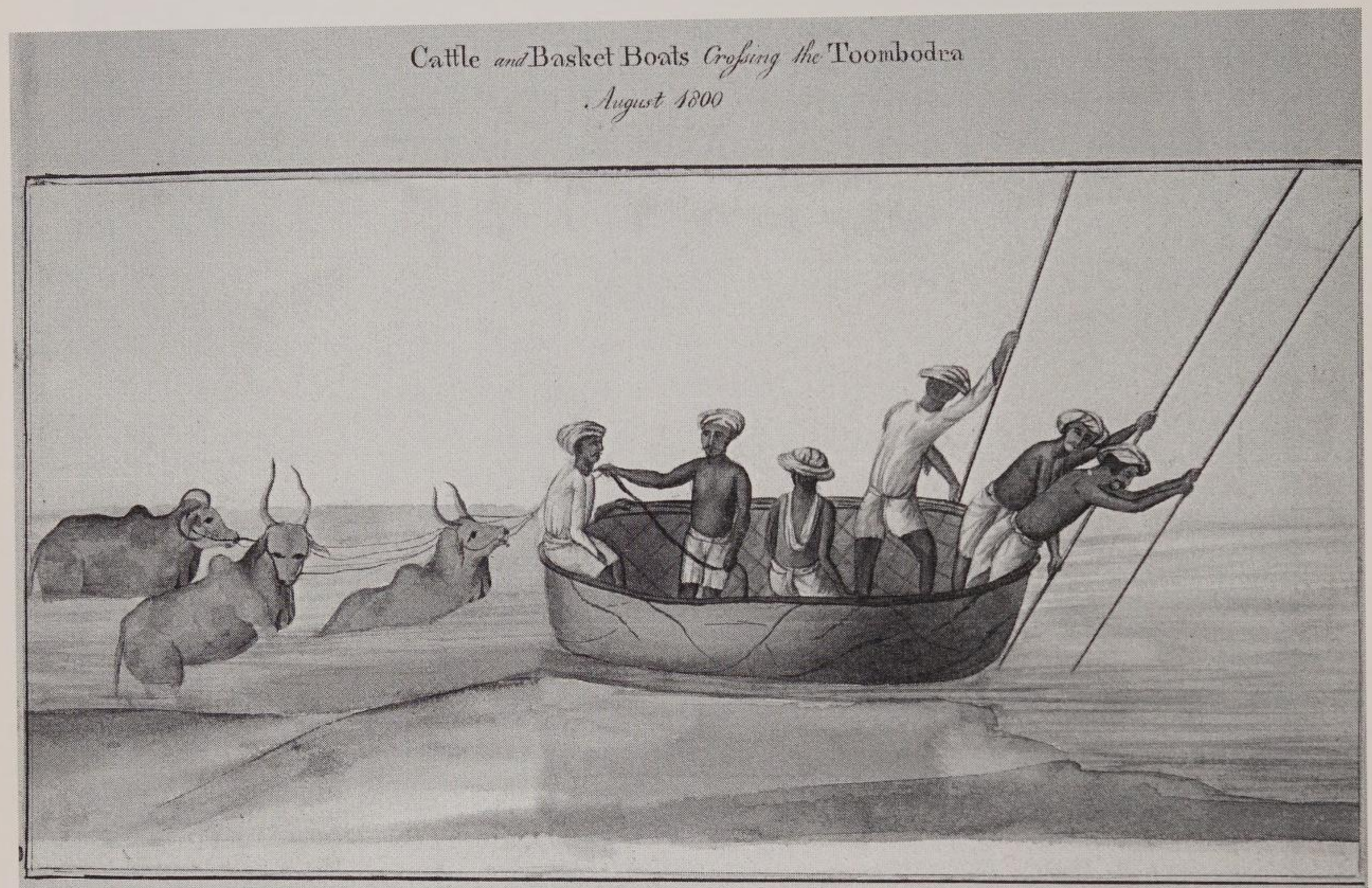

Cattle and Basket Boats Crossing the Toombodra
August 1800
The bending willow into berths they twine.
Then line the work with spoils of slaughtered kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po;
Or such to neighbouring Gaul, allured by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main;
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his wicker boat.
On these embarking, bold with eager haste,
Across the stream his legions Cæsar past,
Rowes Lucan Pharsalia Bk IV

Fig. 3.5 Golla men in coracle boats crossing the Tungabhadra with their cattle, August 1800 (WD1069, f.54)

This verse is clearly intended to romanticize the subject matter of the picture by comparing it with classical western themes. A few other drawings in the same album are accompanied by such verses. Whilst Mackenzie did not carry such romantic tendencies through in his other researches, it seems significant that we find them here, alongside pictures that connect with an analysis of agrarian society. The life and culture of the British peasantry during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was heavily romanticized in landscape paintings by such distinguished artists as Thomas Gainsborough and John Constable. Mackenzie's public were the products of this British romantic movement so the inclusion of such verses was possibly aimed to please the romantic tendencies of certain colleagues.

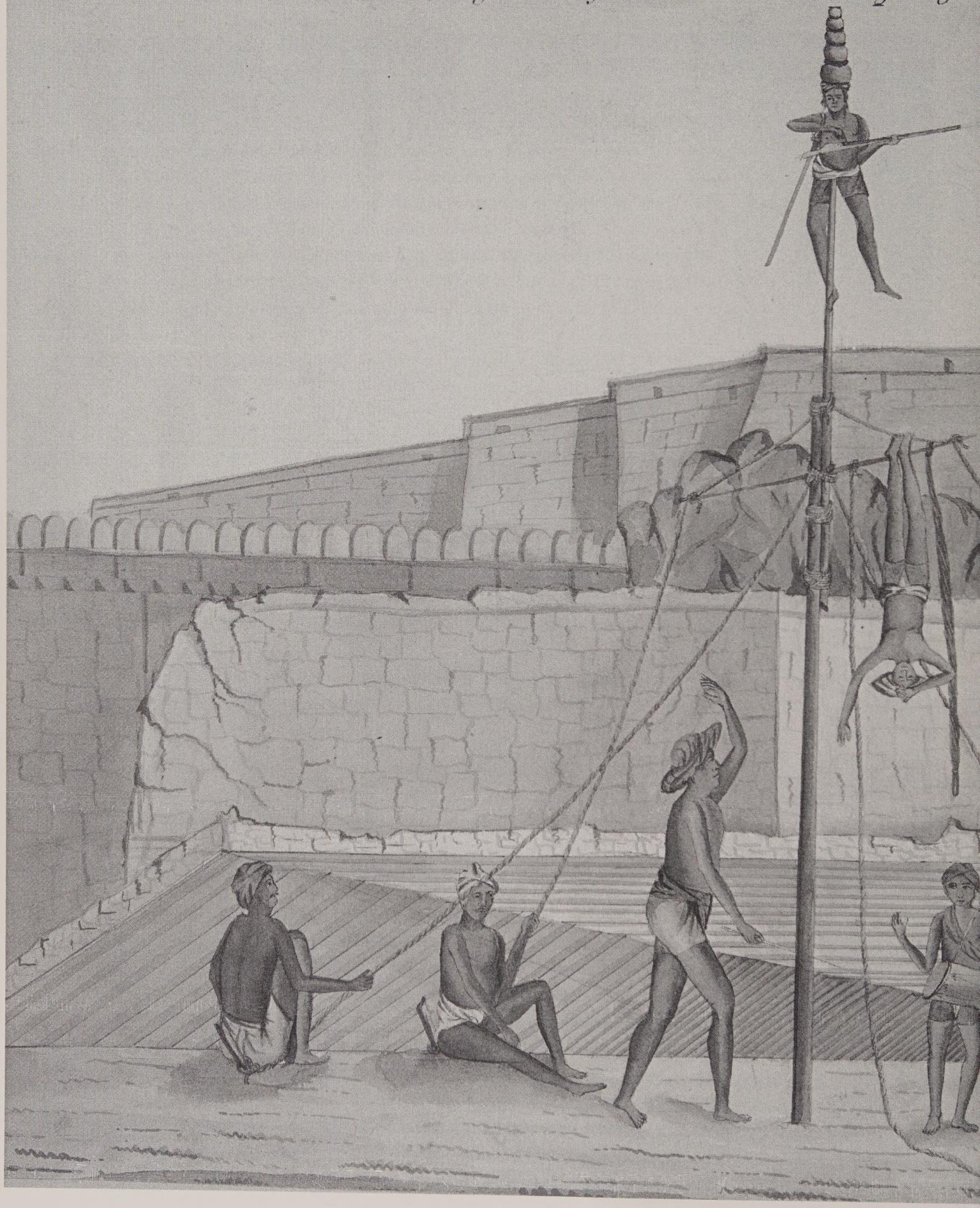
In the British Library's 'Costumes of Balla Ghaat' album, there are several drawings of performance artists, such as bards, acrobats, dancers, and actors. Mackenzie's survey team must have frequently encountered travelling entertainers, so there was ample opportunity to draw them. The first artist to be portrayed in the album is a bard belonging to the Chattri caste (Plate 13). He wears a purple shirt and turban and clutches a red scarf, a standard prop for a story teller, in his left hand. The picture was made on 24 October 1800 at Kattekoppa. This small town lies roughly 15 kilometres west of Tirthahalli and 20 kilometres north of Agumbe in Shimoga District. There are two other pictures from Kattekoppa dated November 1800 that show performances. One of them shows a group of nine people, two of whom are acrobats, performing in front of a fort (Fig. 3.6). At the centre of the performance is a man on top of a pole, balancing pots on his head while firing a gun. Ropes hang from the sides of the pole and the other acrobat is hanging upside down from one of these ropes. The other picture shows a private, local dance performance by a group of young brahmin girls to celebrate the festival of Gauri or Durga. A caption below the picture further explains the circumstances of this festival.

> On the Festival of Ghouree the Young Brahmin Women go about in groupes to the most respectable families of their Caste dressed in their gayest attire and ornamented with Garlands of flowers and perform this dance at their houses in honour of the Goddess whose praises they sing accompanied by the clattering of small sticks which they hold in their hands, and beat in time to the movement of the tune.
>
> These exhibitions are not however open to common spectators and are as a particular compliment to their friends within their houses; but the young women of the Buljewar and other castes in this joyous season of general mirth assemble under trees near the villages and dressed in all the finery dance in honor of Gouree.
>
> A yellow flower seems to be the peculiar decoration of all this time and even the Infants are crowned with these garlands. The groupe here exhibited were dressed in light silks of various colours and the drapery was arranged with a degree of elegance and fancy that did honor to their taste.[21]

In another part of the album there is a set of four pictures showing actors from Harihar in a play depicting the Ramayana.[22] One of these pictures, captioned as 'Hindoo Drama', shows a group walking around a fire. The caption below the picture reads, 'The King of Ayodhya with his Wives performing the Pootra Camastee Sacrifice as represented at Hurryhurr, 1800' (Plate 14). Other pictures, drawn at Chitradurg in June 1800, depict Muslim sepoys dressed as various characters during Muharram.[23]

As the album's title suggests, the drawings were intended to describe the physical appearance of these various social groups through their costumes. Indicating a person's status through their dress is hardly a unique concept and is found in most status conscious artistic traditions throughout the world. However, the style of the Mackenzie drawings clearly indicates the cultural background of the draftsman. A drawing made in 1800 depicting the costume of a person by an Indian artist will be significantly different from one painted by a European draftsman at the same point in time. To demonstrate this, some paintings by Indian artists should first be considered. An early example of a painting by an Indian artist is the famous ceiling painting in the Virabhadra Temple at Lepakshi, Andhra Pradesh, showing men in Vijayanagar court dress from the sixteenth century (Plate 15). According to research conducted by Phillip Wagoner, this

EXHIBITION of a Sett of Doombur *Travelling Players*



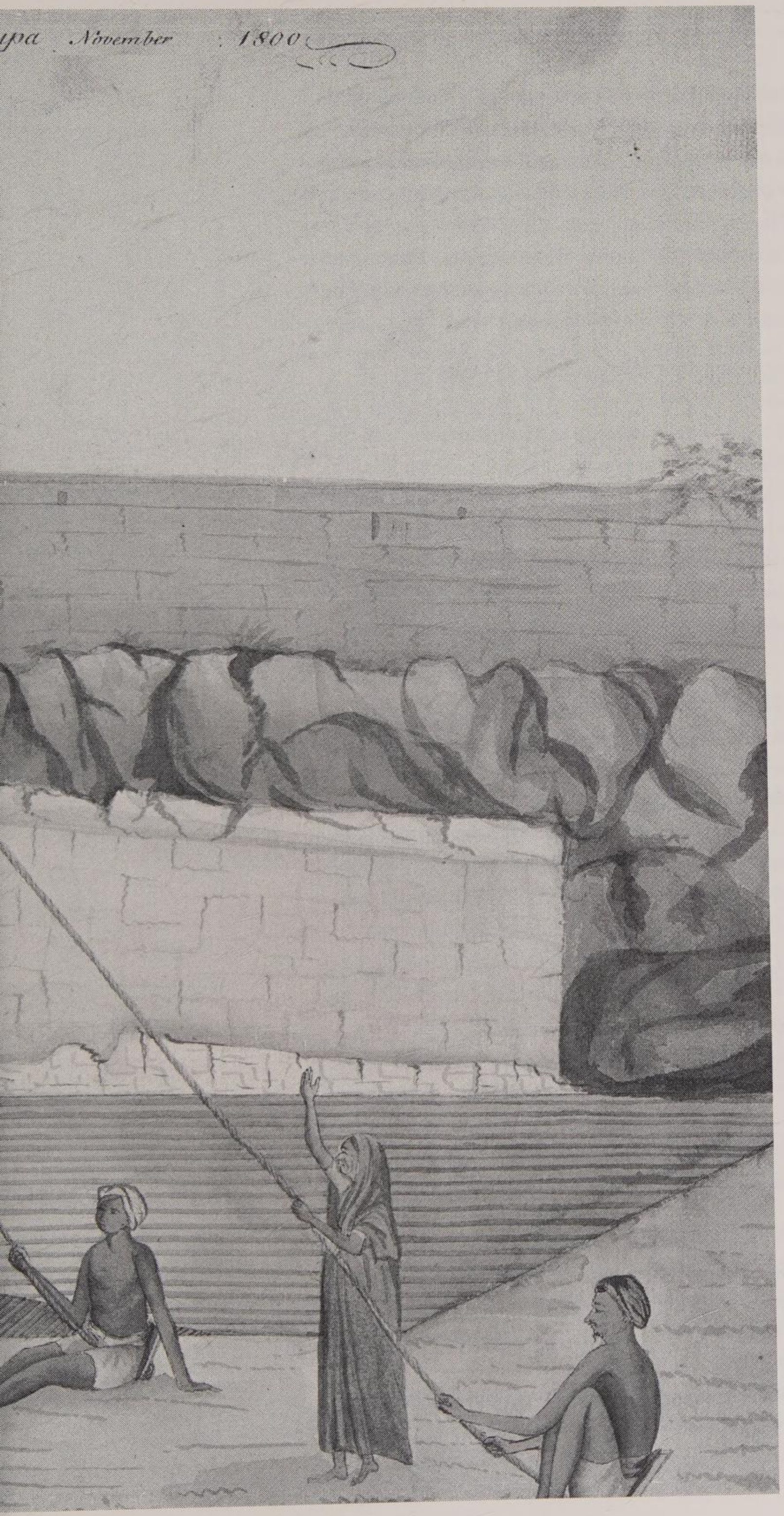


Fig. 3.6 A group of street entertainers at Kattekoppa, November 1800 (WD1069, f.69)

distinctive costume was influenced by Arab styles of courtly dress and was deliberately adopted at the Vijayanagar court to create a favourable impression with Islamic traders.[24] The painting in the temple at Lepakshi undeniably depicts courtiers from the Vijayanagar court, even though the people who viewed the painting at Lepakshi would not have had a cultural point of reference to connect Vijayanagar courtiers with Arabs. The important thing here is that Vijayanagar courtiers became identifiable to a broader audience through this iconic form of courtly dress. To establish a patronage link between the temple and the Vijayanagar court, it was important for the people who saw this painting to identify these men as courtiers of the Vijayanagar Raya.[25]

There were other instances at the Vijayanagar court where painted representations of people were used to identify rank. For example, in a traveller's account of Vijayanagar from the sixteenth century, Domingo Paes describes the use of wall paintings to identify the status of the king's subjects. The account describes the palace of Krishnadevaraya at Nagalpur (now Hospet), inside of which there was a large mural showing 'all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his country, even to the blind and the beggars'.[26] Although the palace at Nagalpur no longer exists, we know that the paintings described by Paes functioned as devices to teach the palace's inhabitants how to identify the rank and cultural background of others according to their appearance.

In the late eighteenth century, south Indian artists began painting pictures on paper to illustrate the costumes worn by various Indian occupational groups. These were sold typically to western patrons such as East India Company officials, so they have come to be known as Company paintings. They were often bound into portable albums according to western convention, but the pictures themselves reflect the stylistic traditions of the Indian artists who made them, as reflected by the paintings on the walls and ceilings of south Indian temples. In one album of the Company paintings dated 1797,[27] couples belonging to different trades and occupations are depicted in the Thanjavur style. Each picture shows a husband and wife wearing the clothing and adornments indicative of their particular occupation. They all stand in profile against a formulaic background consisting of a green hilly area underfoot and a solid blue sky with white and red clouds along the topmost edge. One picture from the 1797 Thanjavur album shows a barber and his wife (Plate 16).[28] Just like the painting of Vijayanagar courtiers at Lepakshi, the Thanjavur Company painting of the barber and his wife gives a formulaic portrayal of its subject matter. There is no mistaking the painting at Lepakshi for anything else but a group of courtiers from Vijayanagar, and likewise, this Thanjavur style painting clearly represents the iconic form of a barber and his wife, standing in profile, wearing the clothes, and holding the implements that identify their trade and status.

Amongst the Mackenzie drawings of people from Balla Ghat there is a picture of a barber. The style of the Mackenzie drawing is completely different from the Thanjavur style Company painting mentioned earlier. The formulaic quality of the Thanjavur painting, featuring the profile pose and attention to implements connected with their trade, is not apparent in the Mackenzie drawing. Instead, the Mackenzie drawing shows the barber shaving a customer under a tree (Fig. 3.7). The draftsman responsible for the Mackenzie drawing is not concerned with portraying the minutiae that define the role of a barber. Instead we know from an inscription that this barber was shaving a customer near the gate of a town in Chitradurg District in November 1801.

Such strict identification of time and place is typical of labelling that accompanies a surveyor's drawings. Because the Mackenzie drawings were not iconic representations of people's costumes, it is highly doubtful that they were by a south Indian artist. An artist from an Indian cultural background in around 1800 would have been compelled to work within the same conventions as the Thanjavur artist who painted the barber in 1797 or the sixteenth century artist of the ceiling paintings in the temple at Lepakshi. In the early nineteenth century an Indian artist would have shown such a subject in an iconic costume that would identify the exact rank and occupation of that person. By contrast, the Mackenzie drawing of the barber does not contain the symbols of that person's occupation. Instead, it places importance on labelling the date, location, and profession of the person in the picture. This is what one would expect from an artist with a military draftsman's training.

Written Accounts

Boriah gathered a number of written accounts that relate to the drawings from Balla Ghat. He also wrote about different organizational levels of the people of Balla Ghat in 1800. He began one particular account with a description of the *varna* system. As already mentioned, the four-tiered varna system is also used to label 68 per cent of the drawings in the Balla Ghat album. According to Boriah,

> The principal castes among the hindoos originally were four viz *Brahmins Chatrees Vysa* and *Soodra* but by the changes arising from some of the original tribes deviating from their first employements; and thro various alterations of laws and customs they gradually separated into 14 tribes more, deriving their common origin in the first four superior castes; so that there are now 18 castes reckoned altogether.
>
> After the first division of castes had been established by Brahmins some of the inferior Tribes that deviated from the Laws as given by the *Rooshees* or Legislators following all kind of evil works and eating flesh and forbidden foods were called *Antijas* signifying the Last Born; These are they by the Hindoos commonly called Chandellas, Pareyas, etc. being held in abhorrence have their habitation separate in all towns and villages.[29]

A similar description of the four-tiered varna system also comes up in Boriah's account of the Madhava Gurus,[30] demonstrating that this was standard classificatory knowledge of Hindu society amongst brahmin communities in around 1800.

One distinctive facet of Boriah's account of the people of Balla Ghat is descriptions of fiscal relations between different segments of society. The one section of society most frequently mentioned in these accounts is the raiyats or tenant farmers (Fig. 3.8). For example, we are told that the barber 'must shave gratis for all the Ryuts of a Village;…[they] also dress wounds and perform other chiurgical operations—for this they receive Hooarahooloo and Moorabatta [measures of grain]'.[31] Raiyats received free services from other tradesmen as well, such as iron smiths and carpenters.

> The *Comaar* or iron smith and *Badiga* or Carpenter are to supply the *Ryuts* with ploughs and other instruments of husbandry without taking any price for the same. If a Raiyat wants to build a house he must then pay some consideration to these artificers; but they pay nothing for the Public duty such as ploughs, buckets, etc.[32]

A Country Barber (Nanda Can)
exercising his profession near the Gate of a Town
Chitteldroog. November 1801

Fig. 3.7 A barber shaving a customer under a tree, near the gate to a town in Chitradurg District, November 1801 (WD1069, f.80)

It thus appears that certain tradesmen were under instruction, probably from landowners and village headmen, to provide raiyats with free basic equipment and services. Crop yields were bound to be more successful if the raiyats' work was unimpeded, and a good crop yield benefited the people who controlled the land. These landlords and revenue collectors were the village headmen (*goudes*) and accountants (*shanboags*). In another passage from Boriah's account, he describes the raiyats' interactions with the accountants and village headmen as follows.

> [I]t frequently happens that the *Ryuts* have no access to people in the higher offices. Parcels of land are unaccounted for and their produce clandestinely secreted by the *Goudes* and *Shanboags* which they eallusively divide among themselves.
>
> These clandestine embezzlements happen from the following causes.
>
> 1st. From the *Goud* and *Shanboag* taking advantage of the timidity of the *Ryuts* who are afraid to discover the frauds of people under whose control they have lived time out of mind, their offices going from father to son.
>
> 2nd The *Ryuts* are so very timid that they are even alarmed to see the *Peons* of the Circar.
>
> 3rd The *Goudes* having full authority to settle the revenue of the villages and the *Ryuts* generally requiring extension of time, particularly when the Circar augments the Rents of a Village; these *Goudes* have it in their power to distress those who displease them by overrating their proportions and selling their effects and cattle at a reduced valuation and thus utterly ruining those whom they entertain a grudge—the *Ryuts* for these reasons endeavour to preserve a good understanding with these officers that they may not be exposed to extraordinary impositions.[33]

Boriah's written accounts of people at Balla Ghat clearly view the raiyats as extremely vulnerable to people in positions of authority. He takes into account the economic relationships between different levels of society, even when these relations involve tormenting those who were less advantaged. This is the case for Boriah's account of the raiyats, who were variously antagonized or treated to free services by the people they had to deal with regularly.

Boriah's detailed report on the raiyats coincides with Thomas Munro's implementation of the Raiyatwari System for the gathering of revenue in 1800. Unlike the Zamindari System, which was implemented in Bengal Presidency in 1793 under the Permanent Settlement (1793), the Raiyatwari System of tax collection did not gather its revenue through landowners (known in Bengal as zamindars), but rather, it directly taxed the farmers (raiyats), thus cutting out the landowning middle men. In 1792 the first Raiyatwari Settlement was established in Baramahal by Alexander Read (1751?–1804), and in 1800 Munro adapted Read's system into a form which was copied in Madras and Bombay Presidencies in the following years. The Raiyatwari System operated by conducting annual surveys of raiyat land. The amount a raiyat paid was determined by the size and productivity of his holdings. Munro considered the Raiyatwari System to be fairer than the Zamindari System, because the raiyats had more control over the land. It was their decision whether to diminish, extend, sublet, transfer, sell, or mortgage the land they worked on.[34]

In 1800, the year that Munro put the Raiyatwari System in place, he travelled extensively through Mysore to begin establishing the methods for implementing the Raiyatwari System. It

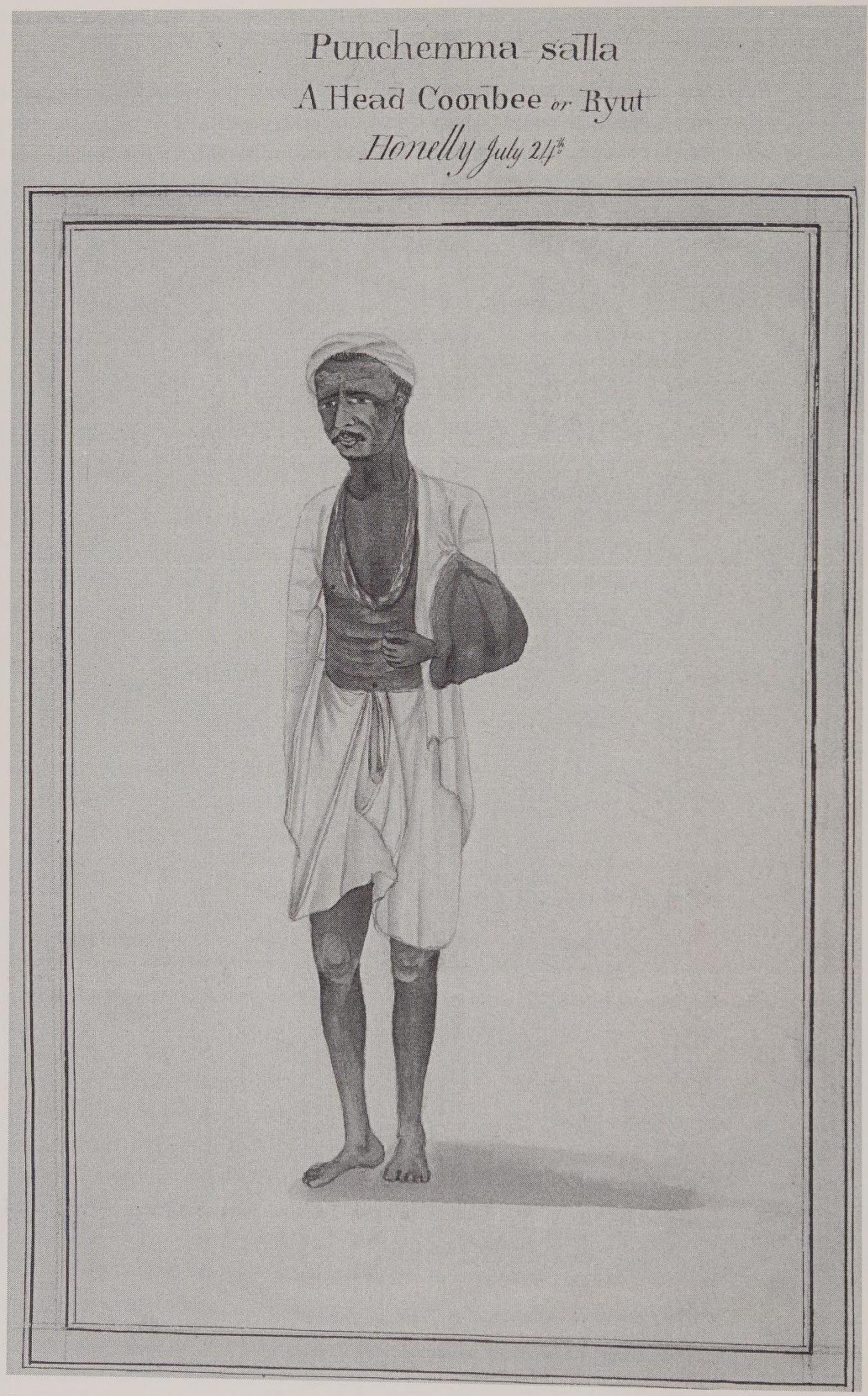


Fig. 3.8 A *raiyat* or tenant farmer at Honnali, 24 July 1800 (WD1069, f.45)

A Boya of rank
a relation of the Chitteldroog Family
at Murcullmurroo November 27 1800

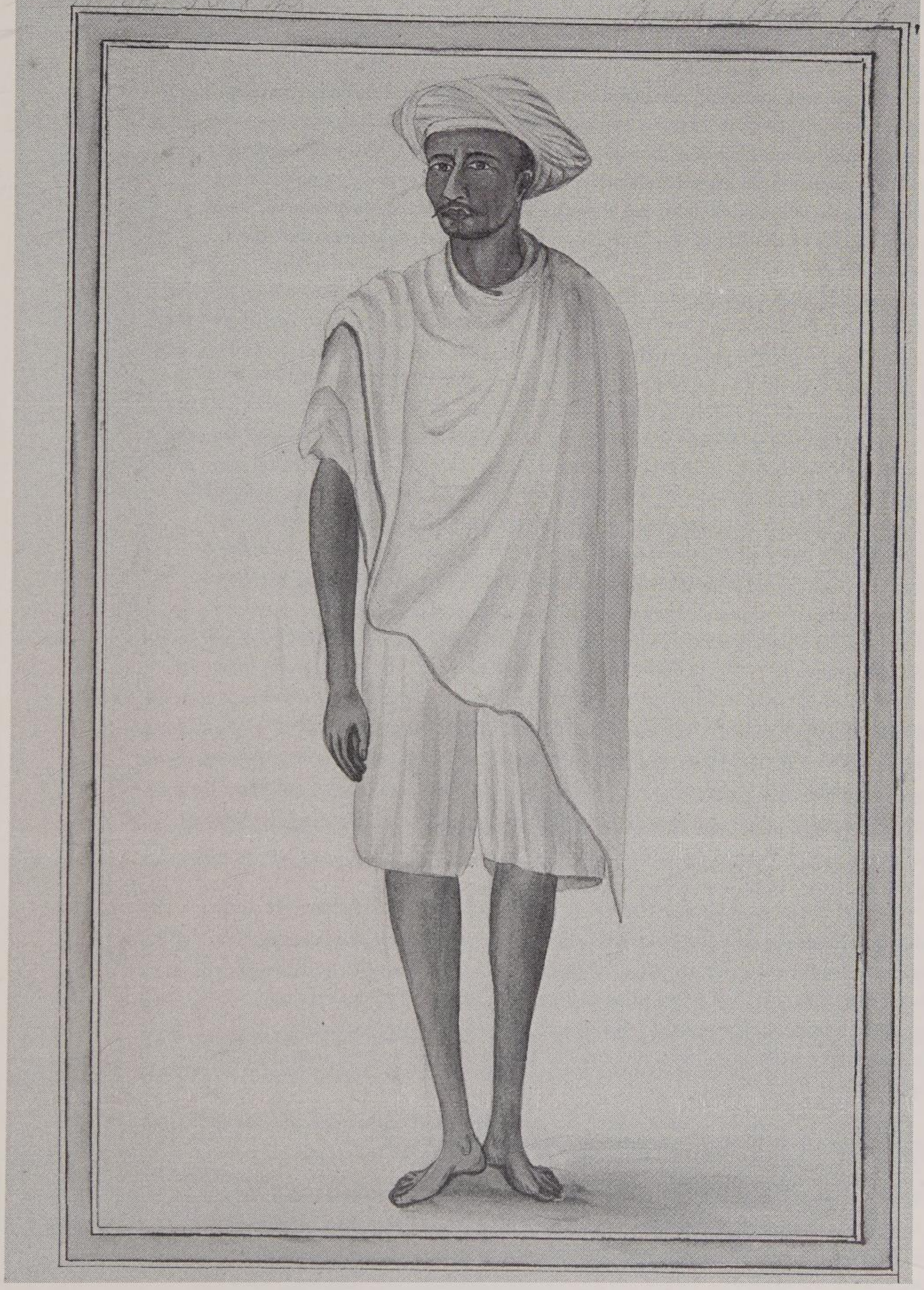


Fig. 3.9 A high ranking Boya. 'A Boya of rank, a relation of the Chitteldroog Family at Murcullmurroo. 27 November 1800' (WD1069, f.64)

was then that Munro encountered the Palaikkarars. This title referred to local rulers in the south, and was a term formerly used during the Vijayanagar period to designate vassals to the Nayakas, who in turn, were vassals of the Vijayanagar Raya. Munro regarded the Palaikkarars with immense suspicion. In a letter dated May 1800 Munro wrote that,

> [w]hile engaged in the business [of the revenue survey] I received letters from the Polligars… all to the same purport congratulating me on the success of our [British] arms, and expressing their confidence that they would be reinstated in their ancient domains. I knew that they were pretenders…I saw that any immediate discussions of such claims could only be productive of mischievous consequences and therefore gave them all the same answer that they must repair personally to Camp and lay their case before the Resident of Mysore and that even then they would not be heard until they should have withdrawn all their followers from the Company's territory.[35]

Munro's mistrust of the Palaikkarars clearly motivated and confirmed his belief to implement this new system in the south. Boriah's report written in 1800 shows how belittled the raiyats were, and gives further evidence why Munro favoured the Raiyatwari System in the south.

Boriah also wrote detailed reports about specific caste groups. One of these accounts, which was compiled 'by direction of Captain Mackenzie', describes the origin myth, religion, and costumes of the Boya or Bedar people taken from late 1800 to early 1801.[36] Boriah's account of the Boya people was gathered by interviewing Boyas of high rank (Fig. 3.9).

> The foregoing was collected at my request from some intelligent persons of this caste but the remarks from further observation in their customs and peculiar trait of character are reserved to a future occasion. I shall only here observe that they are much more civilized than the other classes of Hill People…[37]

Boriah's interviews reveal that these 'Hill People' regarded themselves as the warrior-descendants of Valmiki, the poet who composed the Ramayana. '…these people say they are of the "Generation of Valmeeka Moonee". They live in the woodlands and jungles and hunt the wild beasts of the forests for their livelihood on the flesh of which they subsist neglecting any cultivation of useful arts'.[38] The account continues with a description of their unique customs before going out to battle, and the way they venerate their dead warriors.

> …those who die in battle are called Veerooloo and they carry off and burn their corpses with religious respect and build a tomb over their ashes; they make little images of the deceased… or rather medals. The custom of deifying their warriors who fall in battle is remarkable… In some of the more modern temples of this kind such as Veera-Merkair-Naick of Chittledroog who was slain in battle at Myconda the lingam is placed over the spot where the ashes are deposited.[39]

The changing circumstances of the Boyas were also described by Boriah.

> In former times when they delighted solely in hunting they used only bows and arrows but since they have conquered kingdoms they used all kind of arms peculiar to the Carnatic viz. sword, shield, dagger, long pikes, matchlocks—but now they are obliged to dig the ground for their subsistence and to fill their bellies, having lost their kings and natural patrons…[40]

In another manuscript Boriah wrote that the Boya people were well respected for their bravery, particularly in Chitradurg, where they were often placed in positions of authority. In particular, Boriah points out that in Chitradurg only Boyas were employed as policemen.[41] Mackenzie was so impressed by the character and culture of the Boyas that he made the following recommendations to William Kirkpatrick in a letter dated 12 July 1801.

> An idea occurs to me, of the utility of forming Corps of the Boyawar or Bedar Caste, who are in very considerable numbers in these Countries, and might be thus a nursery for seapoys in time; and prevent them being converted against us occasionally, like the Southern Poligars; their numbers are great, their fidelity where attached well known; their customs, maxims, and way of life favourable; and their chiefs being nearly annihilated, they are in a state to be fit subjects for an experiment…[42]

This letter reveals a strong military reason for gathering information about the people of Balla Ghat.

One curious aspect about Boriah's account of the Boya people is the lack of correspondence between his description of their costumes and the seven drawings of Boyas in the Mackenzie Collection (Fig. 3.10).[43] Boriah's written account describes the Boyas as follows.

> Boyawars use ashes in marking the forehead of red paint representing the stripe of the Tyger to give them a formidable and frightful appearance….their habits are short red trousers, a kind of red sash, a cloth that wraps round their body, turban'd handkerchiefs and jackets; some of them wear whiskers to increase that stern frightful aspect they affect.[44]

Some of the drawings of Boyas show them wearing jackets and sporting whiskers, but the other distinguishing features of the Boya costume noted by Boriah are not visible in the pictures. This suggests that Boriah's description attempted to conjure up the formulaic uniform of the Boya people, while the artist was not following any formulaic descriptions of how this caste group dressed, in spite of possibly having access to Boriah's written account. The artist simply drew what he saw. This supports the idea that the artist was one of Mackenzie's European draftsmen. A south Indian artist employed to perform the same task would have most likely produced idealized, formulaic modes of representing caste and occupation, similar to the description given by Boriah.

Boriah also gathered detailed historical accounts of people who placed themselves on the fringes of society, such as the Madhava Gurus of Harihar. Mackenzie published a written account of these people dated August 1800 in the *Asiatic Annual Register* that must have been compiled by Boriah.[45] This account links with three Mackenzie drawings of Madhava Gurus (Fig. 3.11) showing them taking ablutions in the waters of the Tungabhadra river.[46] The published account clearly distinguishes them as Brahmins, and sets out the society that surrounded them as follows:

> The peculiar duties of the Brahmans, being ordered by Brahma, to consent at performing worship to God, and to have authority, according to the laws, over all the casts now divided.
>
> The Cshatriyas were to conquer and to rule over the dominions by the beneficent council of the Brahmans.
>
> The cast of Vaisya was directed by Brahma, to earn their subsistence by traffic, merchandize, and other arts, under the protection of the kings.

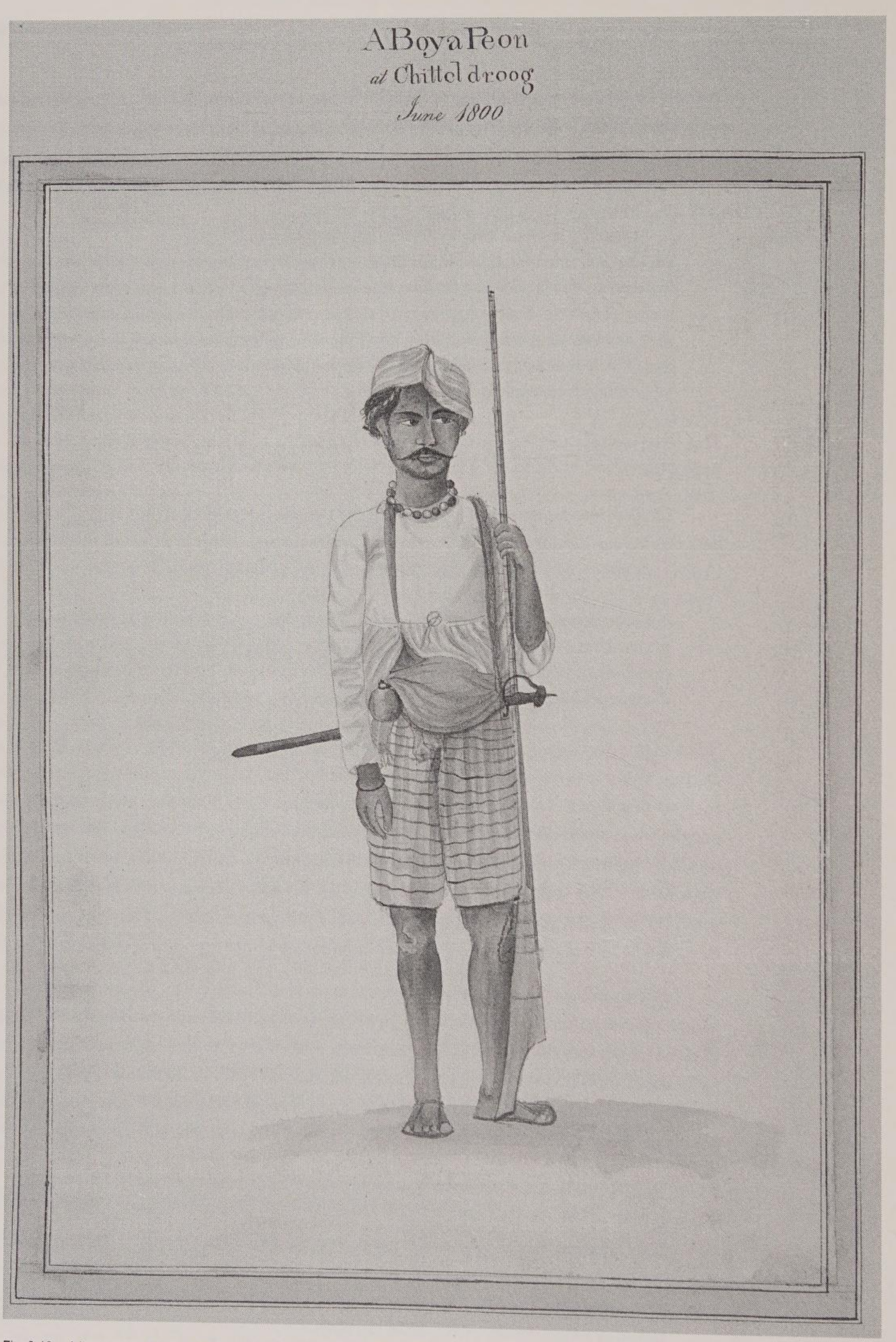


Fig. 3.10 A low ranking Boya from Chitradurg, June 1800 (WD1069, f.29)

> The custom of Sudras to cultivate the ground, and to be obedient to their priests, serving them with much respect.[47]

The article further differentiates the tenets of the Madhava Gurus. In 1800, when this account was gathered, there had been a succession of 28 gurus since the sect was founded.[48] Their distinguishing habits included sacrificing images of animals made of dough instead of living creatures and using Kannada as the language of their disciples.[49] Most importantly, the Madhava sect believed that 'mortals cannot attain to bliss, or God, without the intercession of their Gooroo, and that the supreme allots the several gradations of beatitude, according to their respective ranks, as gooroo, and disciple, or king and subject'.[50]

> The physical appearance of the Madhava Gurus is also described in this account.
>
> > They shave their heads and do not use the agnopavet [yajnopavit], a thread which the Brahmans use to wear, crossing the body over the right shoulder… and only use the following dress: 1. The Cayshana, 2. The Dunda, 3. Camudana, 4. Caupana; a red or orange coloured cloth, a short stick to lean on, an earthen vessel and a rag about the middle… These Gooroos travel in palanquins, attended by the various kinds of Hindu music, and drums beating before them.[51]

Because this account was gathered directly from the Madhava Brahmins at Harihar, it tells how the Madhavas described themselves. The centrality of caste is important to how they described their role in relation to the rest of society. As would be expected, the Madhavas ranked themselves as the most important caste group. The description also takes into account their regionality, mentioning Udipi as an important centre for the sect, and the use of the Canarese language (Kannada) amongst gurus.

The pictures of Madhava Gurus in the Mackenzie album show them performing rituals on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, wearing simple garments made of orange cloth, just as they are described in Boriah's written description. However, there is no indication of any of the other paraphernalia described by Boriah, such as walking sticks, earthen vessels, palanquins, and musicians. Once again, the pictures were clearly based on observation of actual people and were not informed by the idealized written descriptions gathered by Boriah. The drawings and the written descriptions were collected at the same places at roughly the same points in time, but the artist did not produce formulaic representations by consulting the oral accounts provided by local people. Written accounts, such as those gathered by Boriah, are idealizations relayed by the Madhavas, while the pictures show what the draftsman saw. The realism of the drawing differs from the idealization in the written account.

Vijayanagar

Mackenzie's research made it clear that to understand the history of southern India one needed to know about the once great Vijayanagar Empire. Founded in the early fourteenth century, it was ruled out of Vijayanagar, the 'City of Victory', until 1565, when the city was sacked by a coalition of Islamic kings. At the top of the Vijayanagar Empire's hierarchical structure was the Telugu 'Raya'. He appointed governors, known as Nayaks, to preside over the empire's outlying territories. The Nayaks, in turn, received tribute from the Palaikkarars, who have already been

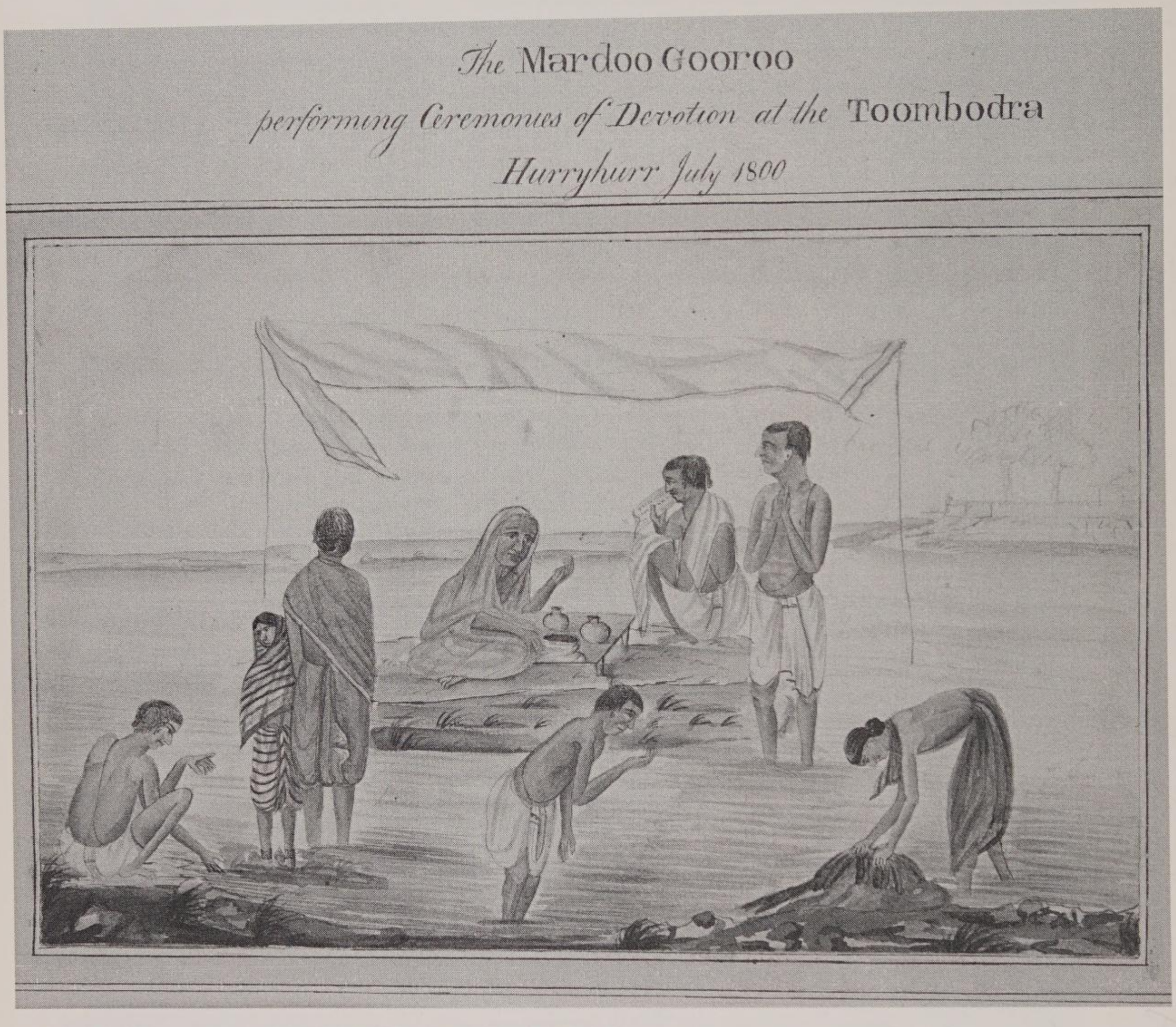


Fig. 3.11 A Madhava guru performing a ceremony in the Tungabhadra river (WD1069, f.50)

discussed. After the city of Vijayanagar was sacked, the Raya's court was forced to relocate to new capitals, such as Penukonda, Chandragiri, and Anegondi. Of these three sites, Anegondi was closest to the original 'City of Victory', and was still the residence of a ruler who claimed to be a direct descendant of the Vijayanagar Raya in 1800–1, at the time of Mackenzie's visit. Mackenzie included in his drawings of people from Balla Ghat a picture of the Raya of Anegondi seated on a chair with his two grandsons at his feet (Fig. 3.12). A caption below the picture says,'The Nara-Puttee-war or Rajah of Anegoondy. The Ancient Rayeels of Beejnagur Jany 1801. Timmana the present Rajah paid me a visit on the 1st Jany attended by his two grandchildren "the blood of Rama Raylike" as he emphatically called them'. Mackenzie recognized that this king was descended from the rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire. In Boriah's account of the people of Balla Ghat, he writes about Vijayanagar's past glory.

> When the race of Naraputty Kings of Beejanagur flourished, they conquered the hole land from the Narmada River as far south as Satoo, reinstating some of the original rajas in their ancient profession submitting to be tributary vassals to them as superior lords; they also appointed some of their own slaves and servants recommended by their fidelity and abilities to manage tracts of uncultivated waste country with instructions to clear away the jungles and to bring the lands into culture with a view of increasing population, the wealth of the state and the prosperity of the lands by good management.[52]

The description in Boriah's report, and the inclusion of the Raya of Anegondi's portrait in the 'Balla Ghaat' album indicate that the compilers of both accounts connected the people of Chitradurg with the history of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Mackenzie published an account of the Vijayanagar kings that explained their history from the events preceding the city's founding until the end of the Mysore Wars. Just like the account of the Boya people, this account was collected 'by order of Major Mackenzie in January 1801'[53] revealing that Boriah most likely recorded and translated this account as well. The account describes the city as being founded by a destitute brahmin named Madava (presumably a member of the Madhava community described at such length by Boriah) who travelled to Hampi in search of wealth. He prayed to the goddess Bhuvanesvari for help. She appeared to him, but denied his request. The brahmin became dejected and renounced the material world. He entered 'the life of a sanyassee, and cloathed himself in the peculiar habit, in red and tawny coloured rags'.[54] The goddess then revisited him and offered to grant him the wealth he had originally asked for, but having discovered peace through devotion to god, he turned down her offer. Instead, he followed the goddess' command to establish a city at Hampi. The sanyasi instructed his pupils to erect a pillar symbolic of the city's establishment at an auspicious moment, but through interference from the 'Angel of Misfortune', the pillar went up slightly too soon. This sealed the city's destiny to prosper for only 300 years. The city was founded by the sanyasi in AD 1336, and he ruled for 25 years, after which he appointed Bukka, the first king of Vijayanagar, as his successor. Bukka was the son of a cattle keeper who had shown kindness to the sanyasi during difficult times. This account differs from most accounts of the founding of Vijayanagar by crediting its establishment to a brahmin from the Madhava community.

Another unique feature of this account of the Vijayanagar kings is that it ends by mentioning Thomas Munro, the collector who implemented the Raiyatwari System in Mysore.

> Major Munro, having come at this time as collector into the ceded districts, in behalf of the Honourable Company, the Rajah's vakeel is now gone to that gentleman to solicit his allowance, and the Rajah at present does not yet know the result, or how he is to be situated in future.[55]

A manuscript version of the same article ends with the same mention of Munro, but includes details about the raja of Anegondi's circumstances that were omitted from the published version.

> The Rajah sent lately a Vakeel (in January 1801) to the Collector Major
>
> Munro and was at this time in expectation of having his allowance continued.
>
> This wretched Rajah has not now in the midst of his Ancient Patrimony even a common house for his residence; is in extreme distress tho the descendant and representative of the

The Nara-puttee-wār
or Rajah of Anagoondy
The lineal Representative of the
Ancient Rayeels of
Beejnagur
Jany 1801

Fig. 3.12 Portrait of Timmana, the *Raya* of Anegondi with his two grandsons, January 1801 (WD1069, f.75)

> Ancient Lords of the whole Carnatick whom all the Poligars in their letters address in the most respectful terms agreeable to the same forms by which their ancestors approached the throne of the Rayeels.[56]

To Mackenzie, the portrait of the raja of Anegondi, and the information in the written accounts about the history of the kingdom at Vijayanagar filled a gap in his understanding of the people of Balla Ghat. Because indigenous systems of rule were altered by the events of the Mysore Wars, it was difficult to link an existing local ruler to the people of Balla Ghat. The Raja of Anegondi was the closest such ruler that Mackenzie could connect with his investigations. For this reason, the Balla Ghat set of drawings includes the picture of the Anegondi king.

In a report prepared in 1803 on his progress with the Mysore Survey, Mackenzie wrote about this link between Vijayanagar and the society of Balla Ghat.

> The situation of this former Capital of the Carnatic (Beejanagur) rendered it an object of curiosity, not from common motives of research, but as promising the advantage of tracing on the spot, near the remains of the Capital of an extensive empire, some notices of those Institutions which still influence the local customs and manners of the various classes inhabiting extensive provinces now under our Government; but from the total ruin of the city, the depopulation thro' the contentions that had long agitated the Country, and the estruction of these works that formerly embellished and improved a Tract naturally wild and mountainous the sources of information were found extremely limited tho' enough remain to evince its ancient consequence and to afford collateral aids to investigations in other quarters.[57]

Accounts such as this indicate the connection between Mackenzie's research and Thomas Munro's work on the early years of the Mysore Survey. The link between the two men is explicit. In the same report, Mackenzie mentions meeting Thomas Munro in the field at Rayadurg on 1 December 1800.[58] Mackenzie also corresponded with Munro and sent him maps, plans, and accounts of forts in Mysore's northwest border, along with sketches of roads, so that Munro might present them to the Commander-in-Chief.[59]

The content of many of Mackenzie's reports reflects Munro's agenda to investigate ways of collecting revenue. For example, in one account from Chitradurg, Mackenzie explicitly reports on local heads of revenue collection, and ways to increase revenue in Ballaghat.[60] In this report, Mackenzie links the Raja of Anegondi into this system.

> The Kings of Beejanagur were the first who within our knowledge caused the jungles in the Ballaghaat to be cleared and promoted the population of the country under their government all these regulations were first instituted for the mutual advantage of the State and Subject. Hence this country in their time produced a very considerable Revenue which enabled them to erect many sumptuous magnificent and expensive buildings thro' the Dominions some of which are still remaining in different places; After defraying these charges and the expences of their State and of their armies a great residue still remained in money and jewels tho' their successors (This alludes to the Anagoondy raja who resided in this situation near the ruins of the ancient capital)[61] and descendants cannot afford to build a habitation for themselves equal to the common buildings formerly occupied by one of their Ryuts.[62]

For Mackenzie, having seen the ruins of the abandoned city at Vijayanagar, it was obvious to link the kings of that vast empire with the information he gathered about their remaining descendants,

and to further connect this with his understanding of other levels of agrarian society. Mackenzie's men surveyed the remains of Vijayanagar and produced a detailed map,[63] as well as a large number of drawings, some of which were prepared into fair copies. At Anegondi, the decorative paintings inside the remains of the Raja's palace were copied (Plate 7). The watercolour copies of these decorative paintings are the only remaining visual record of the palace at Anegondi's interior. Both the style and the subject matter of these copied paintings resemble the paintings in the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi. Both were painted in narrative bands and feature similar representations of Siva as a seated ascetic. Mackenzie also collected a picture of a painter from Anegondi (Fig. 3.13) proving that the Raja still employed a painter at Anegondi in 1801.

Mackenzie's account also acknowledges the role the Vijayanagar Rayas played in the construction of monuments. Several of the Mackenzie drawings of royal structures at Vijayanagar are accompanied by brief but insightful documentation. For example, there is a fair copy of the building popularly known today as the Lotus Mahal (Fig. 3.14). It is labelled, 'View of the Royal Apartments at Bijannagar…and the remains of the Sleeping Rooms of the celebrated Krishna Rayeel'. On Mackenzie's map of the site from 1800 the Lotus Mahal was named the 'Munsudd Aramunnee' (Mansad Palace) and was described as the 'sleeping apartments of Kishen Rayeel'. This same building was known as the 'Lotus Mahal' by the mid-nineteenth century, and was thought to have been a zenana building on account of its seemingly feminine decoration. The Mackenzie account of the same building in 1800 gives a more likely explanation of this building's original use.

Another drawing shows the large stone dining table at the western edge of the site that is today known as the 'Bhojana Sala' (Fig. 3.15). It is a long, narrow, double-sided eating surface with a gully along its entire centre that acted as a watercourse. Guests at the table would have faced each other, using the watercourse at the centre to wash their fingers and clear the eating surface. The inscription on the picture reads, 'Plan of a Singular Structure remaining at Beejanaggur where it is said that Rayeels used to entertain the Great Lords of Empire on a certain Annual Festival'. This picture is important because it shows the table's condition in 1800, and it indicates that it was used for another purpose besides feeding brahmins.

The only named draftsman we know of who worked on these drawings in around 1800–1 was Monisse. There are two fair copies of the building known as the 'Elephant Stables'. One is a copy by Shaikh Abdullah, Mackenzie's Calcutta-based copyist, of a sketch by Monisse. The other is a copy of the same drawing by George Rowley (Fig. 3.16).[64] None of the original drawings by Monisse that the watercolours are based on have survived, so it is entirely possible that additional sketches were made at Vijayanagar, but were lost and not made into fair copies.

There are several Mackenzie drawings from Vijayanagar that show sculpted details from some of the large temple complexes at the site. One of these pictures shows a detail of the famous sculpted wall surrounding the Hazara Rama Temple (Fig. 3.17) while another shows a carved doorway from the Vitthala Temple complex.[65] On the survey map of Vijayanagar taken in 1800, a list is given of 14 'Remarkable Pagodas and Religious Buildings'.[66] In spite of this list of religious structures, the focus of Mackenzie's drawings of buildings at Vijayanagar was definitely the palace buildings. The reason for this focus is made distinct in the writings Mackenzie chose to publish about Vijayanagar. Although he was interested in temples and their connections with

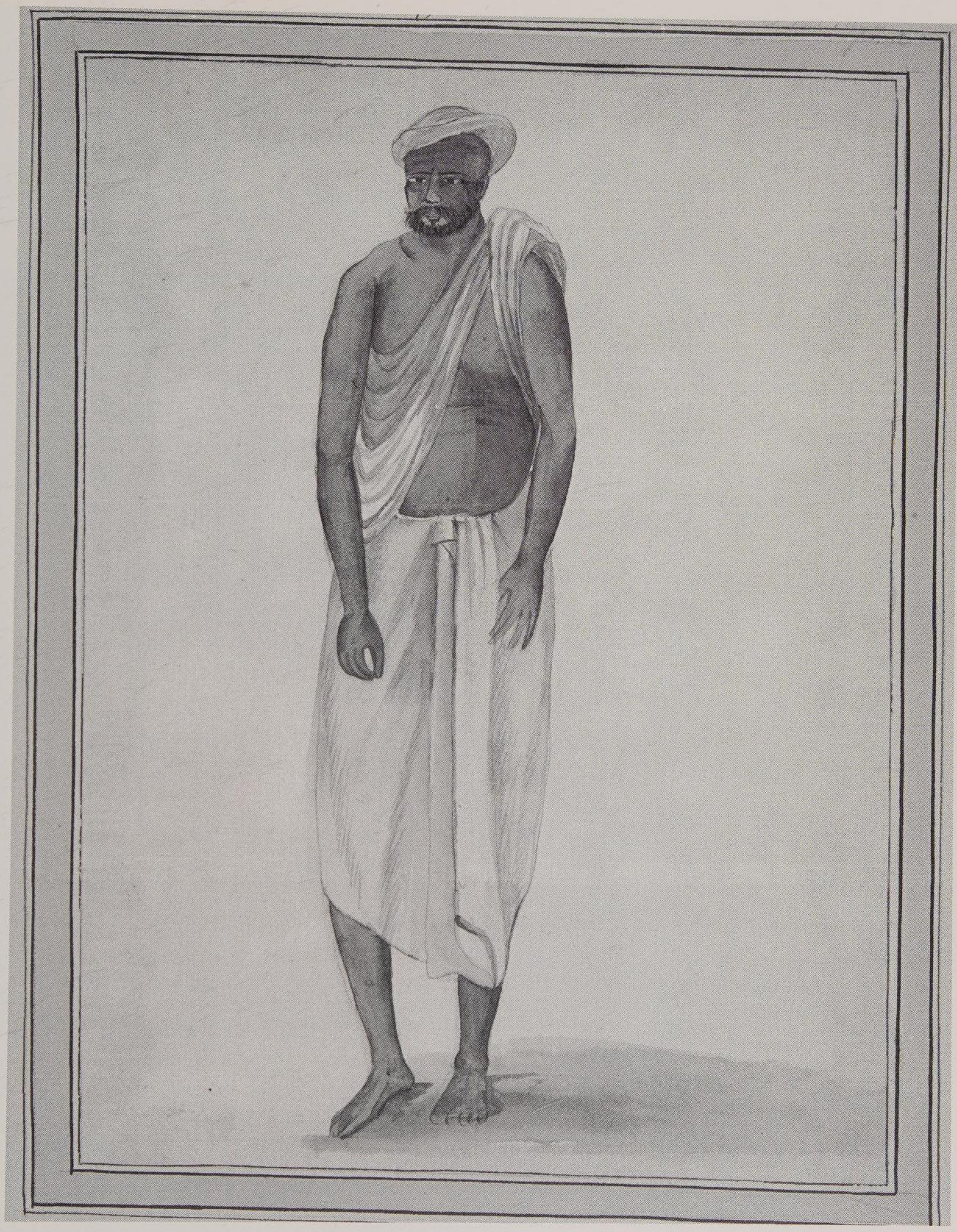


Fig. 3.13 A painter from Anegondi, January 1801 (WD1069, f.76)

Fig. 3.14 Fair copy watercolour of the 'Lotus Mahal', known at that time as 'the Sleeping Rooms of the celebrated Krishna Rayeel', based on a sketch taken in December 1800 (WD585)

Apartments at Bijanagur (1800 Decr.)

Views of the Sleeping Rooms of the celebrated Krishna Rayals.—

local legends during the Mysore Survey, at Vijayanagar he was primarily concerned with the monuments in relation to the broader history of southern India.

The pictures of buildings and sculpture at Vijayanagar, as well as the map of the site and pictures of people at Anegondi, were all made between December 1800 and January 1801. These investigations were carried out during a period of sickness that delayed the survey for several weeks. While Mackenzie's men convalesced at Chitradurg, he travelled north to Vijayanagar along with Boriah and Monisse.

> this unexpected interruption of the field work [sickness causing an extended stop at Chitradurg] had only stimulated if possible to greater exertion at every favourable interval of convalescence and the country adjacent to Camalpore and the Site of Beejanagur had been in repeated excursions between the end of December and the 21st January surveyed with a Plan of the vicinity of that Ancient Capital.[67]

This trip to document Vijayanagar's ruins and to interview the Raja of Anegondi was immediately preceded by Mackenzie's meeting with Thomas Munro on 1 December 1800. The link between Mackenzie's investigations of people in Balla Ghat, the Raja of Anegondi, and the spectacular remains of the city of Vijayanagar all point towards his involvement with drafting a social analysis of the ruling elite and their connection with the agrarian system of government in that region.

A New Kind of Survey

When Mackenzie began collecting drawings of people from Mysore he created a new genre of pictures for his collections. The detailed information in these drawings is enormously supplemented by the written accounts that were gathered by Mackenzie's head translator, Boriah, at the same locations simultaneously. This was the first time that Mackenzie had recorded ethnographic material about the people of a particular region through drawings. The use of this new genre would continue for the rest of Mackenzie's career, but he never again produced the same quantity of drawings in this genre as those collected during the early Mysore Survey. The reason for the detail behind this first set of ethnographic investigations is explained by their link with written accounts of various social groups and the rulers who had previously controlled the surrounding lands.

There is considerable overlap between this work and that of Mackenzie's colleague, Thomas Munro. Around 1800, when the accounts and drawings of the people of Mysore were being gathered, Thomas Munro was formulating the East India Company's revenue collection system in the south. In a letter he wrote to the Board of Revenue in London dated 31 May 1800 he described the Herculean task ahead of him, and the horrendous obstacles that prevented him from properly conducting his research. These obstacles related to the impact of warfare on the places Munro travelled to and his mistrust of local rulers: 'In many places the cattle had been swept away, the villages burnt and the inhabitants men women and children carried off into captivity'.[68] As discussed earlier, the local rulers, known as Palaikkarars, frequently approached Munro with petitions, which he persistently regarded with suspicion. Not only was Munro in war ravaged territory, he was troubled by his inability to distinguish pretenders from genuine local rulers. Unable to establish who was in charge, it made sense for Munro to favour the Raiyatwari System over the Zamindari System.

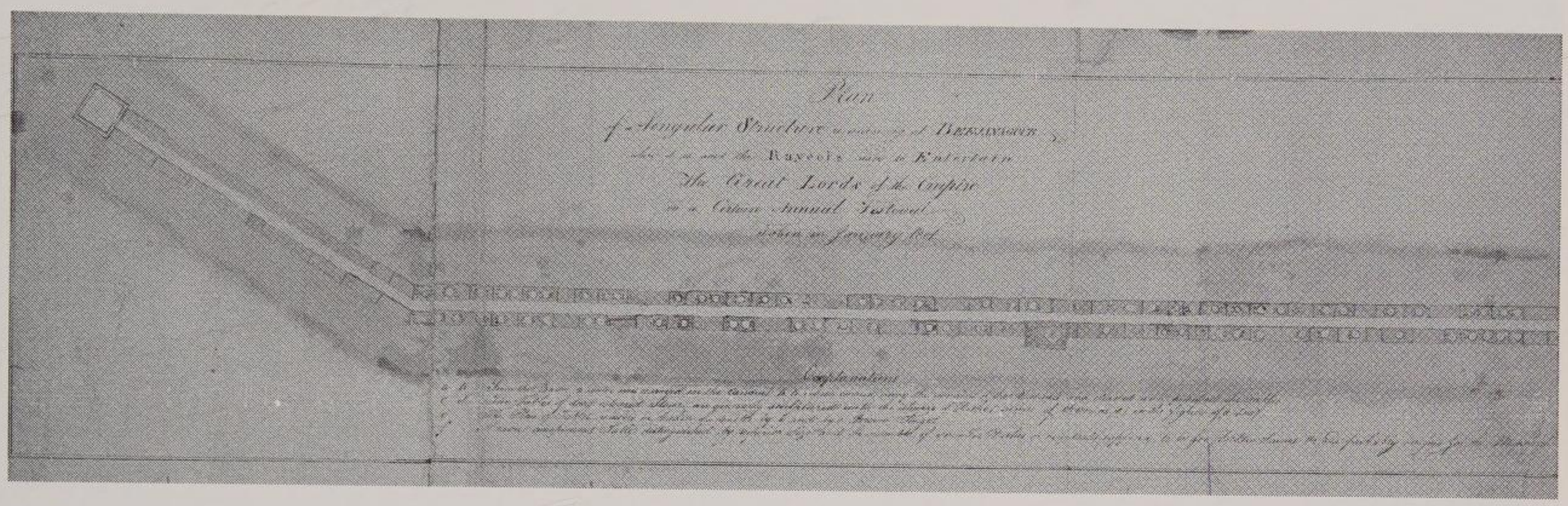

Plan
of a Singular Structure at Vijeanagar
also of an near the Bayeres call'd Kalastaree
the Great Lords of the Empire
as a Citizen Annual Festival
drawn in January 1801

Fig. 3.15 A drawing of the monumental stone dining table at Vijayanagar known as the 'Bhojana Sala', dated January 1801 (WD2651)

Reduced by Lieut! Rowley in 1803. from an Original Sketched by Monisse Dec. 1801.
Ruins of BEEJANUGGUR
The Rayels Elephant Stables.—
in December 1801.

Fig. 3.16 Fair copy watercolour of the 'Elephant Stables' at Vijayanagar. Copy by George Rowley (1803) based on an original sketch taken in 1801 by Monisse (WD751)

N°32 Specimen of SCULPTURES *on the Outward Walls*

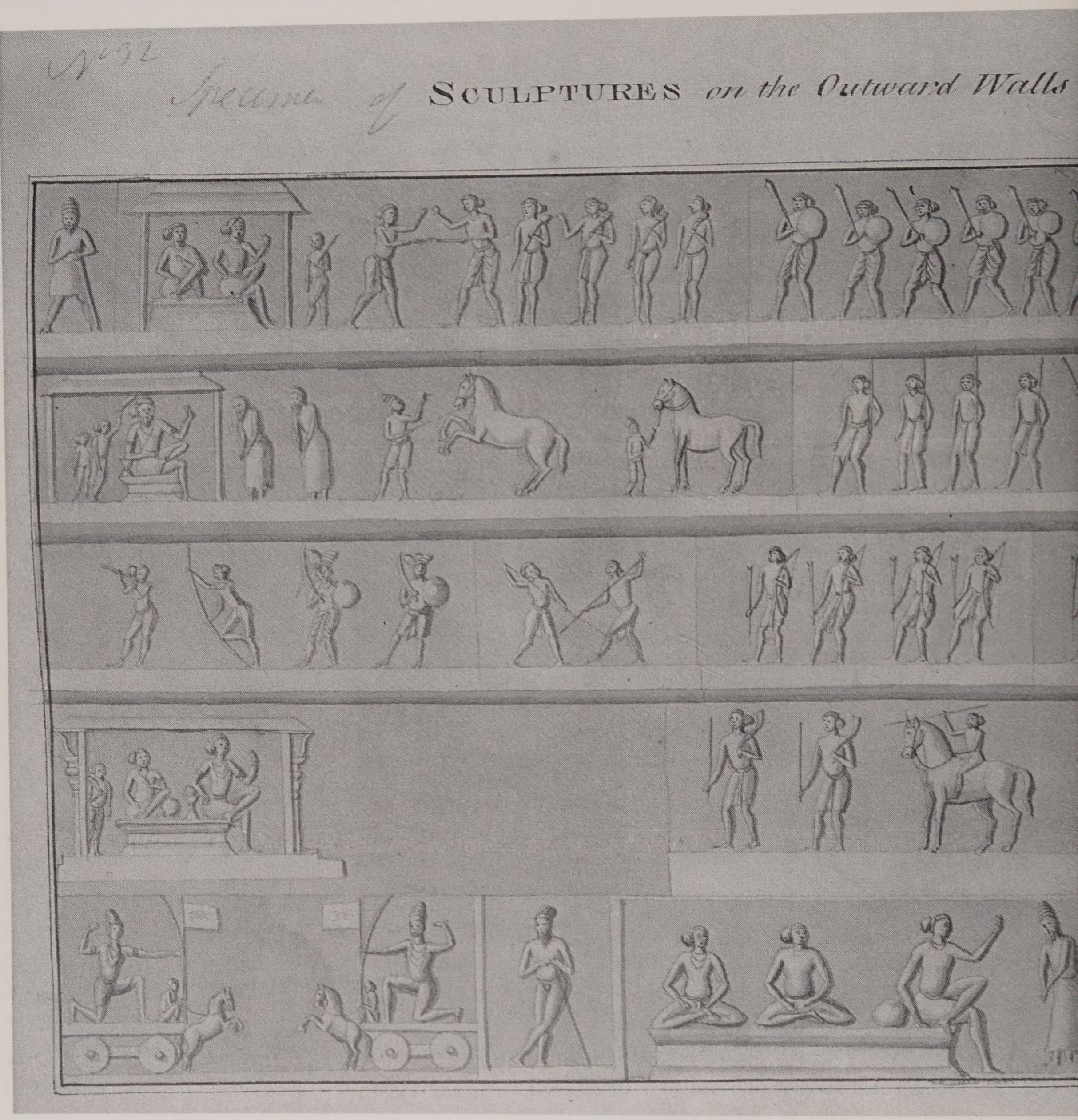
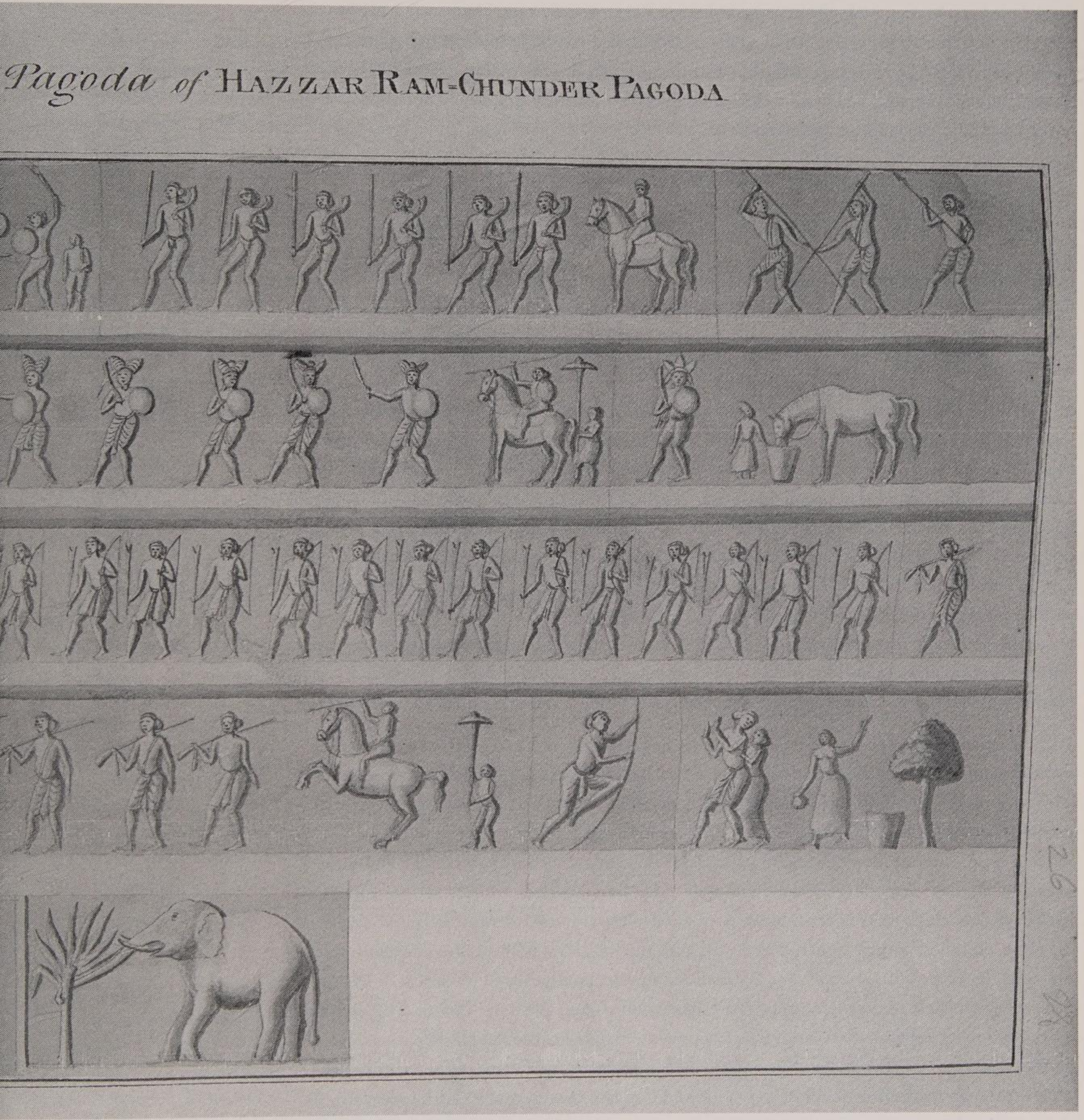


Fig. 3.17 Drawing of the stone frieze surrounding the Hazara Rama Temple at Vijayanagar, probably taken in December 1800 or January 1801 (WD1065, f.29)

Pagoda of HAZZAR RAM-CHUNDER PAGODA



Mackenzie openly shared the data he gathered during his fieldwork, so his research on the people from Mysore probably informed Munro's Raiyatwari System. Mackenzie had always considered his field drawings and connected research as part of a wider project to help researchers and the general public of Britain to further knowledge about South Asia. In a letter about the Mysore Survey's progress, addressed to Edward Clive, the Governor in Council at Fort St George on 12 July 1803, Mackenzie expressed his view to

> elucidate the Design and…help determine how far this experiment (gathering research in the field) may be deemed to answer in acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the Internal Resources of a Country in addition to what is generally expected from a Geographical Survey.[69]

In this same letter, Mackenzie told Lord Clive about his meeting with Thomas Munro in the field at Rayadurg on 1 December 1800.[70] The letter verifies the connection between Mackenzie's research on the people of Mysore, particularly his research on agrarian social groups, and Munro's research to establish a revenue collection system in exactly the same part of India.

The album of drawings titled 'Costumes of Balla Ghaat, Carnatic'[71] was Mackenzie's first foray into this genre of painting and it was not to be his last. He collected drawings of people from different segments of society while he was travelling in Java between 1812 and 1814,[72] and later he collected drawings of people in Orissa.[73] However, the drawings in the Balla Ghat album have more substance because they connect with sophisticated documentation that was gathered, translated, and written into reports by Mackenzie's most admired and accomplished assistant, Kavali Venkata Boriah Brahmin. Boriah was responsible for gathering most of the indigenous written accounts collected at the beginning of the Mysore Survey. By contrast, we know little about the draftsman responsible for the drawings. The style and labelling of the drawings indicates that the draftsman was a military surveyor by training, and as the only named draftsman in Mackenzie's entourage around 1800 was Monisse, one must assume that he created the pictures.

The drawings were made at the same time that the indigenous accounts of Chitradurg's social structure were being written down by Boriah, but they were not compiled in consultation with each other. The central technique of the draftsman was observation, while the written accounts were based on direct questioning and interviewing the very people that the accounts referred to. As a result, the drawings of people and the written accounts of social groups differ, even though they were collected simultaneously, and often describe people from the same social background. Boriah's written accounts were not collected with the intention of describing the drawings, and the drawings were not collected with the intention of illustrating Boriah's written accounts. In spite of this, without the detailed written accounts gathered by Boriah, it would be nearly impossible to derive meaning from the drawings of people from Mysore. This research on the people of Balla Ghat never overtly imposed or favoured particular classifications. In particular, both the drawings and the written accounts classified different segments of Indian society through more than just caste associations. Place and time played a classificatory role in the drawings, but more importantly, the language group, place of origin, religious association, and occupation of the person were also indicated. This unique approach to collecting information about the people of Mysore, and the connection between the written accounts and the drawings, make it a valuable record of how these people lived before 1800.

Notes and References

1. WD1069.
2. W.A. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta: City Press, 1884, p. 184.
3. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. II, p. 92.
4. This was first pointed out by Peter Robb 'Completing "Our Stock of Geography" or an Object "Still More Sublime": Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore, 1799–1810', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 8(2), p. 205 and note 133) with reference to a copy of The British Library's Add.Ms.13660 in the National Archives of India.
5. Add.Ms.13660, f.11.
6. Ibid., ff.11-11v.
7. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 91–3.
8. Other written accounts include Mackenzie General 16, ff.13–20; Mackenzie Misc. 18; Mackenzie General 20, ff.15-19. Other drawings include WD859–875.
9. Mackenzie collected a map (WD2634) and at least 2 views (WD581, 582) of Chitradurg.
10. Add.Ms.13660, f.3.
11. Add.13660, f.5. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 98.
12. Add.13660, ff.48v-49.
13. Add.13660.
14. WD 1069.
15. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p.184. Unfortunately I have not seen this second album of drawings.
16. Mackenzie to Josiah Webbe, 1800, NAI/SIR/M6, pp. 68–70; Mackenzie to Thomas Arthur, 20 May 1801, NAI/SIR/SGO 90, pp. 249–51.These references were given to me by Tobias Wolffhardt.
17. Add.13660. f.47.
18. W.W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India. Revised edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909, vol.18, p. 198.
19. Add.13660, f.54r.
20. WD1069, f.54. A note below the verse gives the reference 'Rowes Lucan Pharsalia Bk IV'.
21. WD1069, f.65.
22. Ibid., ff.81-84.
23. Ibid., ff.85-86.
24. P. Wagoner, AQ. 'Sultan among Hindu Kings', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(9), 1996, pp. 851–80.
25. 'Raya', the Telugu word for 'Raja', is the standard term used by historians to describe the king of Vijayanagar. In Mackenzie's time the same word was spelled, 'Rayeel'.
26. R. Sewell, *Report on the Amaravati Tope*. London: HM's Stationery Office, 1878, p. 186.
27. Add.Or.188-209.
28. Add.Or.192.
29. Ms.Add.13,660, ff.47v-48.
30. Boriah, *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804, pp. 33–9.
31. Ms.Add.13660, f.50r.
32. Ibid.
33. Add.13660, ff. 49v-50r.
34. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 144–5.
35. Mss Eur Mack Gen 49, f.84.
36. Mss Eur Mack Gen.21, ff.219-227.
37. Ibid., f.227.
38. Ibid., f.223.

39. Ibid., f.225.
40. Ibid.
41. Add.13660, f.51r.
42. Mss Eur F228/19, f.5v.
43. WD1069, ff.27-31, 48, 64.
44. Mss Eur Mack.Gen 21, f.223.
45. *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804, pp. 33–9.
46. WD1069, ff.36, 50, 51.
47. Boriah, *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804, pp. 34–5.
48. Ibid., p. 38.
49. Ibid., p. 39.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., p. 38.
52. Add.13,660, f.48.
53. *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804, p. 24.
54. Ibid., p. 25.
55. Ibid., p. 24.
56. Mss Eur Mack Gen 11, f.28.
57. Add.13660, f.3v.
58. Ibid., f.3.
59. Ibid., f.16.
60. Ibid., ff.52-56.
61. This note was written by Mackenzie and is part of the manuscript entry.
62. Add.13660, f.56.
63. WD2646. Mackenzie's map of Vijayanagara. Prepared by surveyors in 1800. Reproduced as illustration 16 in Anila Verghese, 'Vijayanagar in History and Memory', in George Michell (ed.), *Vijayanagara: Splendour in Ruins*. Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2008, pp. 36–7.
64. WD589 (Abdullah copy) and WD751 (Rowley copy).
65. WD1065, f.27.
66. WD2646.
67. Add.13660, f.3v.
68. Mss Eur Mack Gen 49, f.83.
69. Add.13660, f.2.
70. Ibid., f.3.
71. WD1069.
72. WD953.
73. WD869-873.

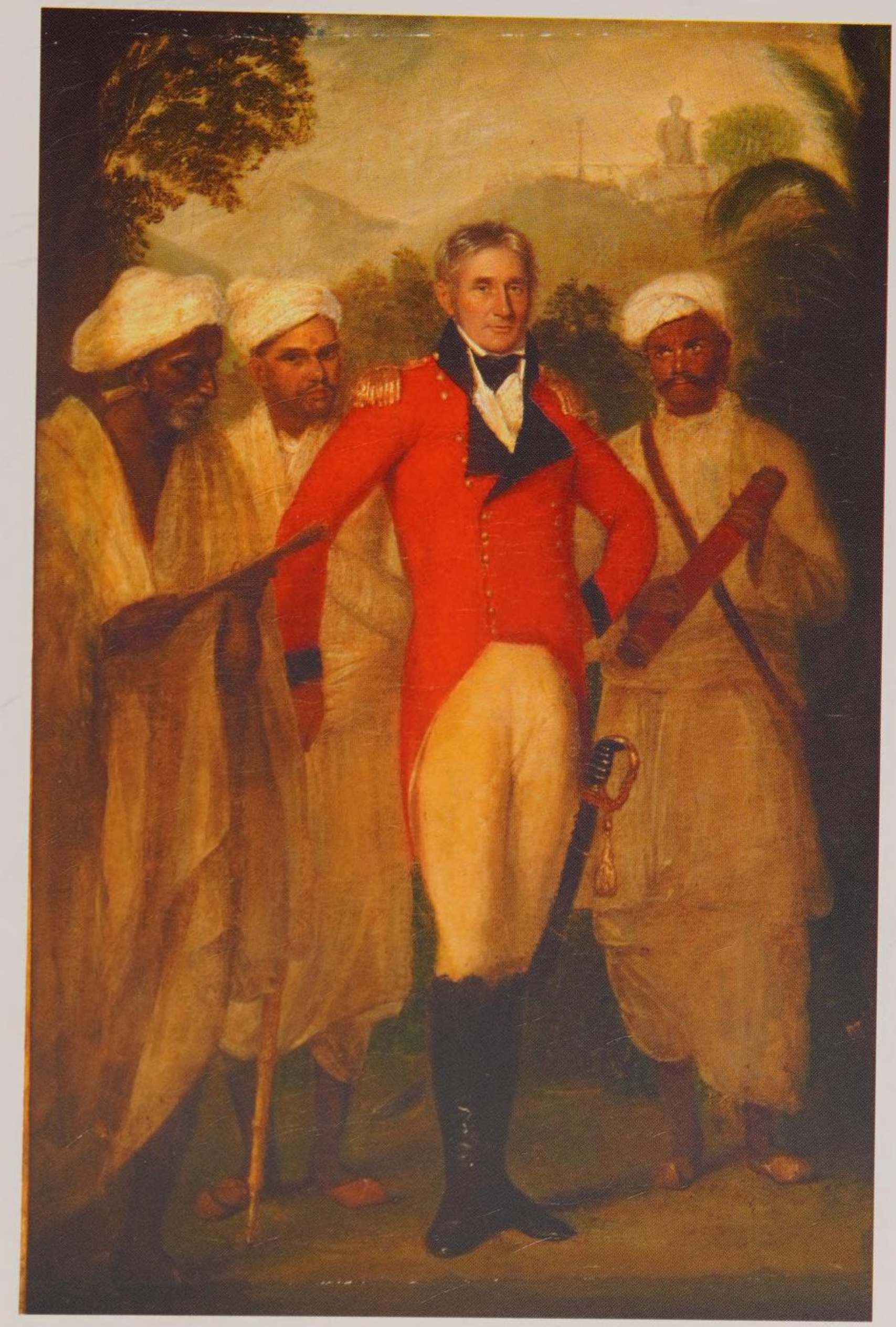


Plate 1. Oil painting by Thomas Hickey of Colin Mackenzie with three Indian pandits, *c.* 1816. Two of the pandits hold palm leaf manuscripts. The backdrop for this portrait is the monumental Jain statue of Gomatesvara at Karkala (F13)

Plate 2. A view of the hill fort at Dindigal, dated 1783, by Colin Mackenzie (WD641)

Plate 3. A coloured fair copy based on Colin Mackenzie's 1784 sketch of a faqir's house in Periyakulam, Dindigal District. Probably made between 1815 and 1821 (WD638)

Plate 4. A route map signed by Colin Mackenzie, dated 1792, showing the path taken by the Nizam of Hyderabad's detachment north of Bangalore (IOR, X/2297/1)

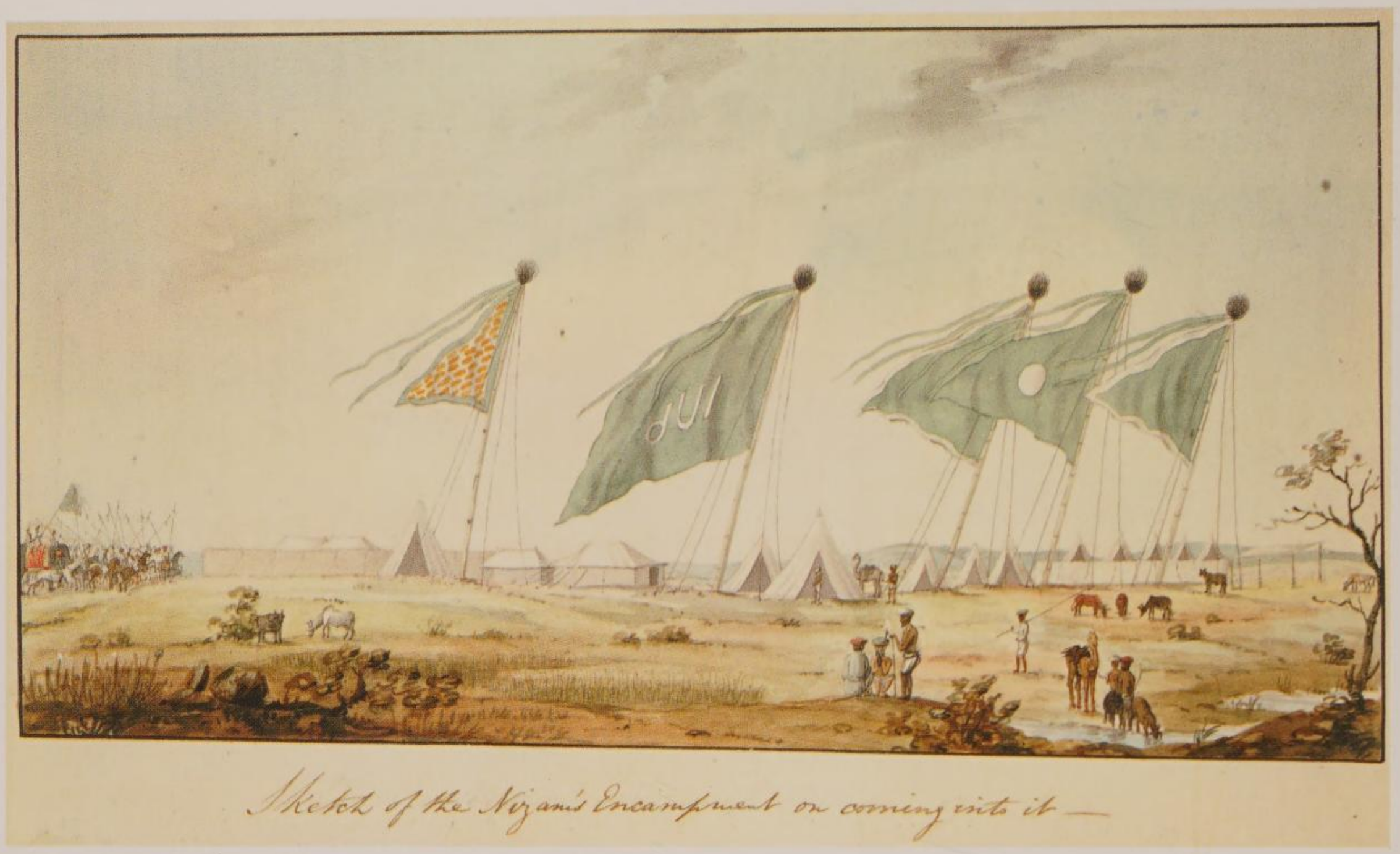


Plate 5. View of the Nizam of Hyderabad's detachment setting up camp, dated 1792 (WD618)

Plate 6. Unsigned fair copy watercolour dated March 1794 showing the Great Tank at Kambham and 'the celebrated Embankment across the Gunlacummum River' (WD600)

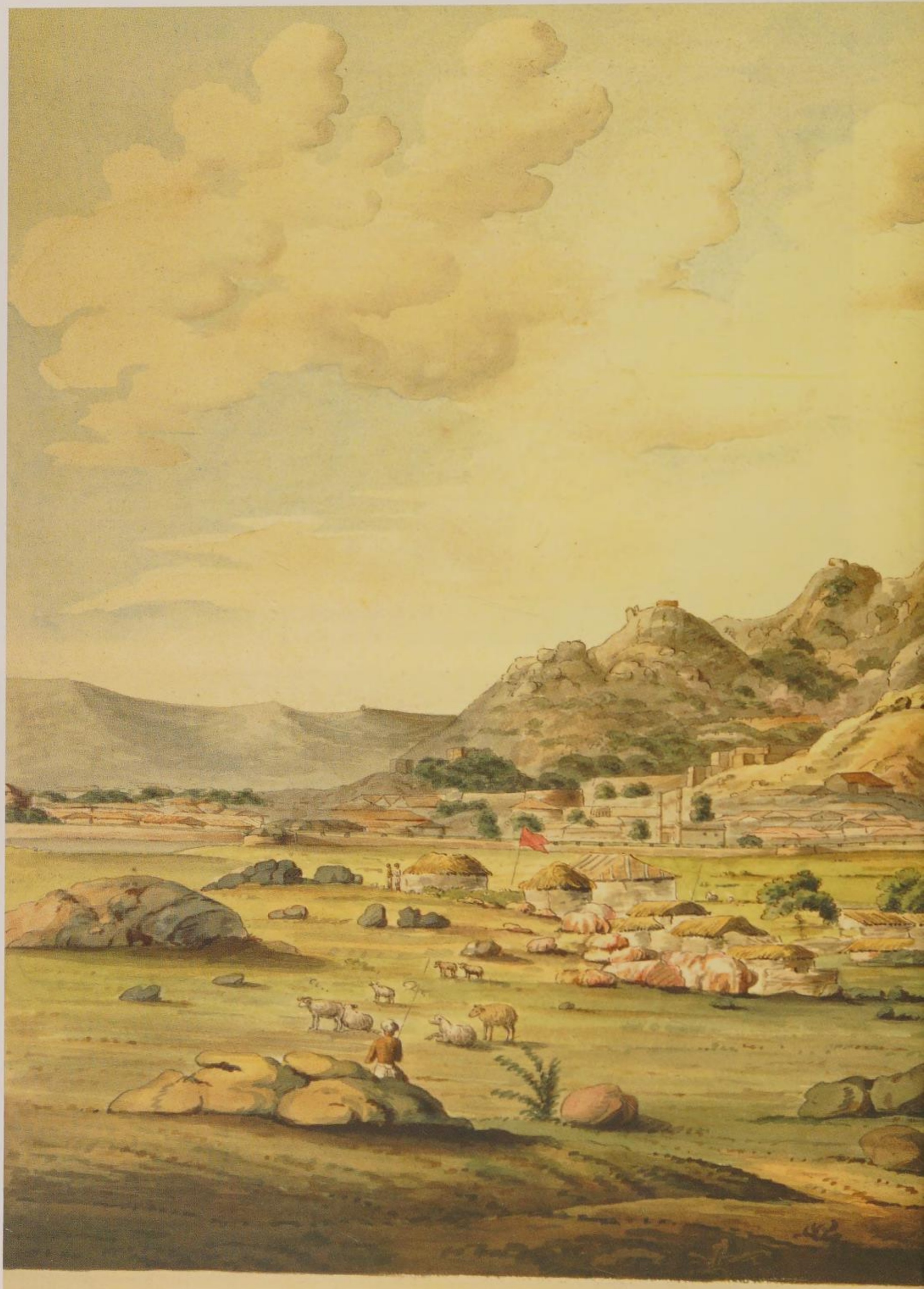
Plate 7. Detail from a route map signed by Colin Mackenzie showing his journey from Tuljapur to Hyderabad in 1797. Gulbarga, the abandoned city of Firuzabad and the Bhima River are all shown (IOR, X/2066)

Plate 8. Sketch of the abandoned palace and mosque at Firuzabad, on the bank of the Bhima river, 1797 (WD708)

Plate 9. East view of Gulbarga as seen from the tank, signed by Colin Mackenzie, March 1797 (WD604)

Plate 10. Fair copy watercolour of the tank at the source of River Musi, near Hyderabad, March 1797 (WD606)

Plate 11. A fair copy watercolour of the temple at Durasapattnam, based on Benjamin Sydenham's drawing, 26 March 1798. The fair copy was probably prepared in Calcutta after 1818 (WD664)



North View of CHITTLE

Plate 12. The north side of the hill-fort at Chitradurg, 1803. This is a fair copy by John Newman, 11 May 1816, based on a field sketch by George Rowley (WD582)

Plate 13. A bard from the Chattri caste at Kattekoppa, 24 October 1800 (WD1069, f.61)

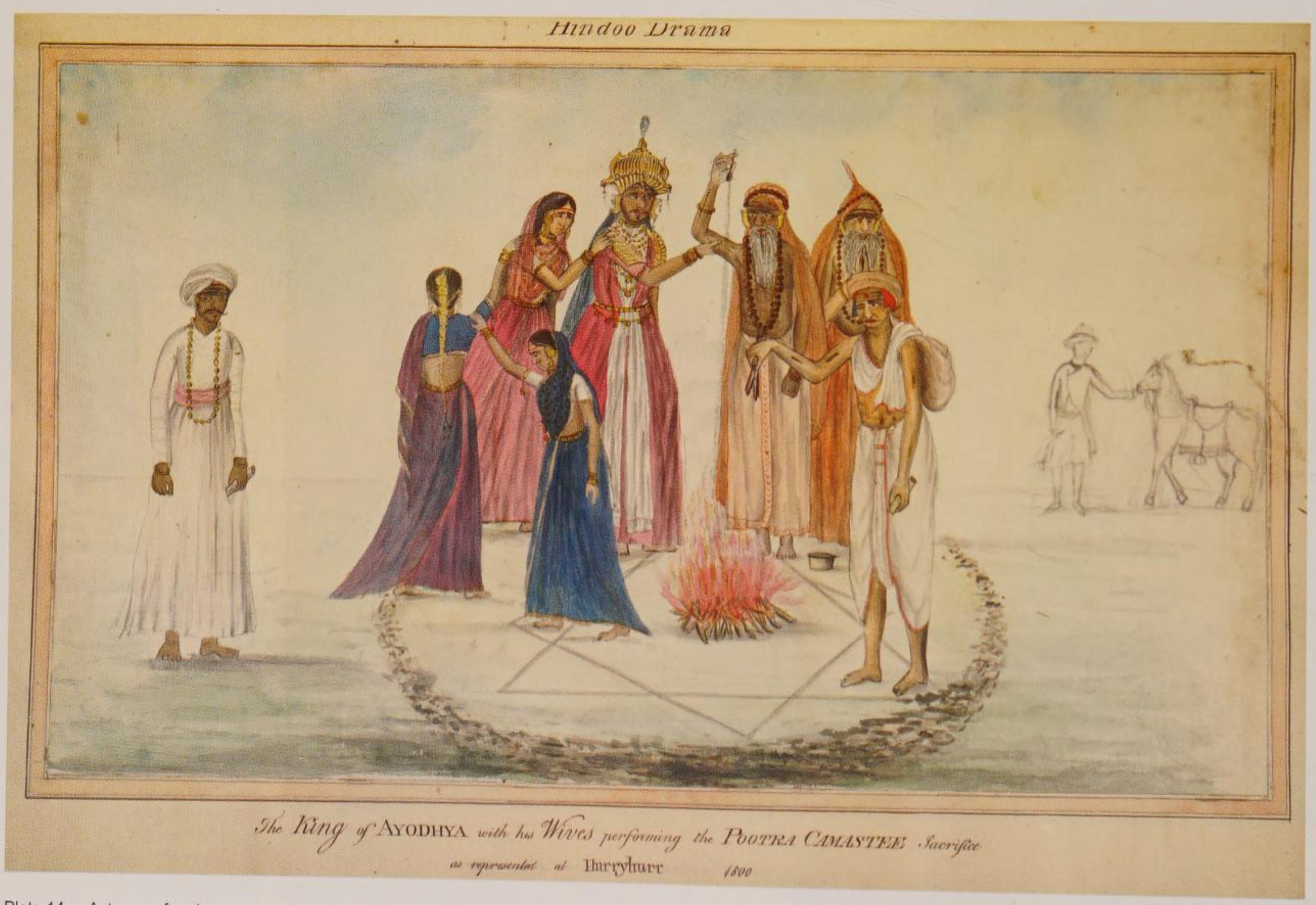

Hindoo Drama
The King of AYODHYA with his Wives performing the POOTRA CAMASTEE Sacrifice
as represented at Hurryhurr 1800

Plate 14. Actors performing a scene from the Ramayana, Harihar, 1800. 'Hindoo Drama. The King of Ayodhya with his Wives Performing the Pootra Camastee Sacrifice as represented at Hurryhurr, 1800' (WD1069, f.84)

Plate 15. Painting of Vijayanagar courtiers in the Virabhadra Temple at Lepakshi, sixteenth century (photograph by the author)

Plate 16. Painting by a Thanjavur artist of a barber and his wife, 1797 (Add.Or.192)

Plate 17. Copy of the painted ceiling inside the palace at Anegondi, probably taken in January 1801 (WD1065, f.38)

Plate 18. A survey team at the Kedaresvara Temple at Nagalapuram (WD586)

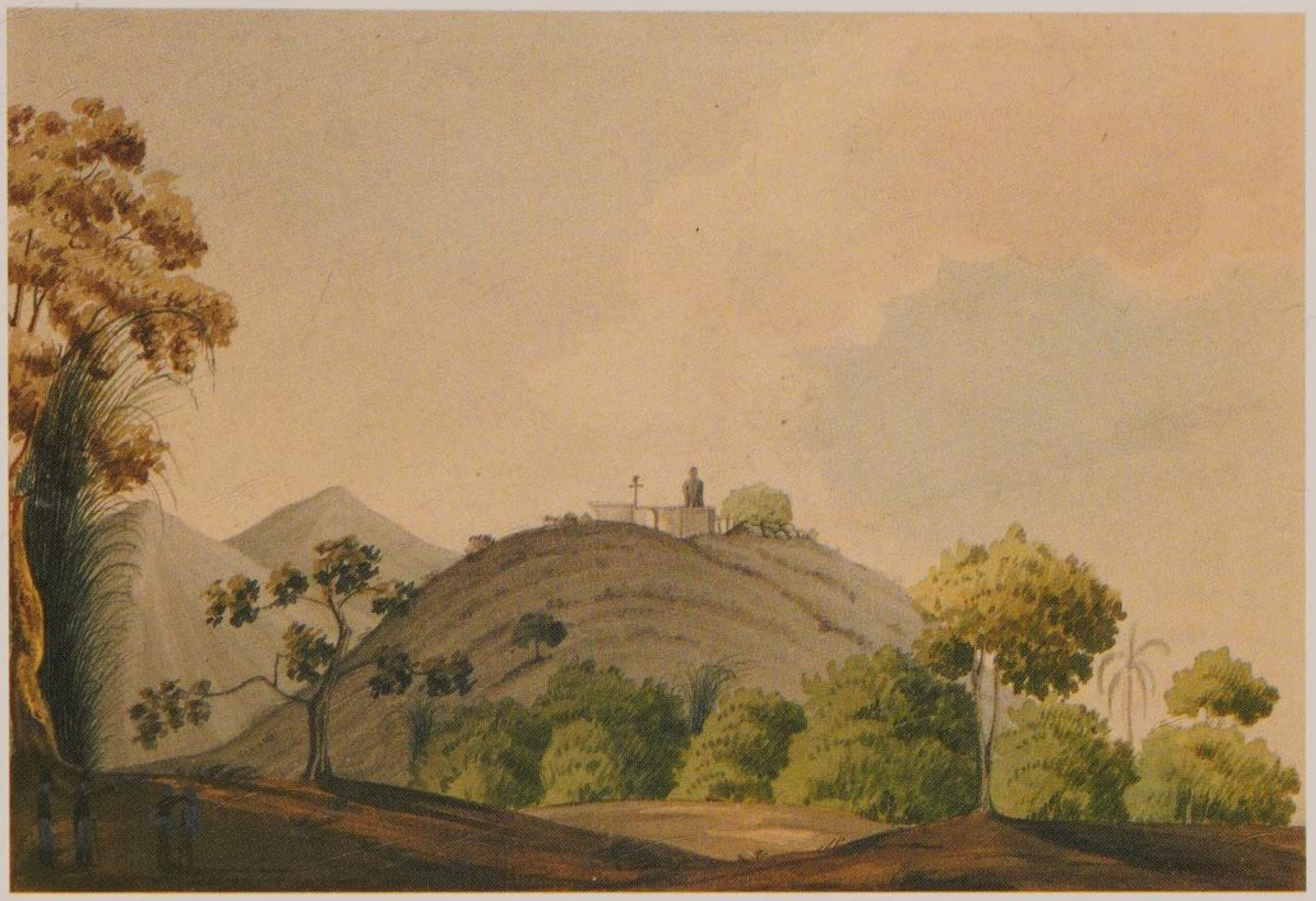


Plate 19. Fair copy watercolour of Karkala attributed to John Newman. Based on Benjamin Swain Ward's sketch taken in May 1806 (WD623)

J.C Newman del. April 1816.
from an original Sketch on the Mysore Survey in 1806. taken by Lieut.t Ward
North View of the Hill of Sravana – Bellagoola
7th August 1806

Plate 20. Fair copy of Sravana Belgola by John Newman, April 1816. Based on a sketch by Benjamin Swain Ward taken in 1806 (WD576)

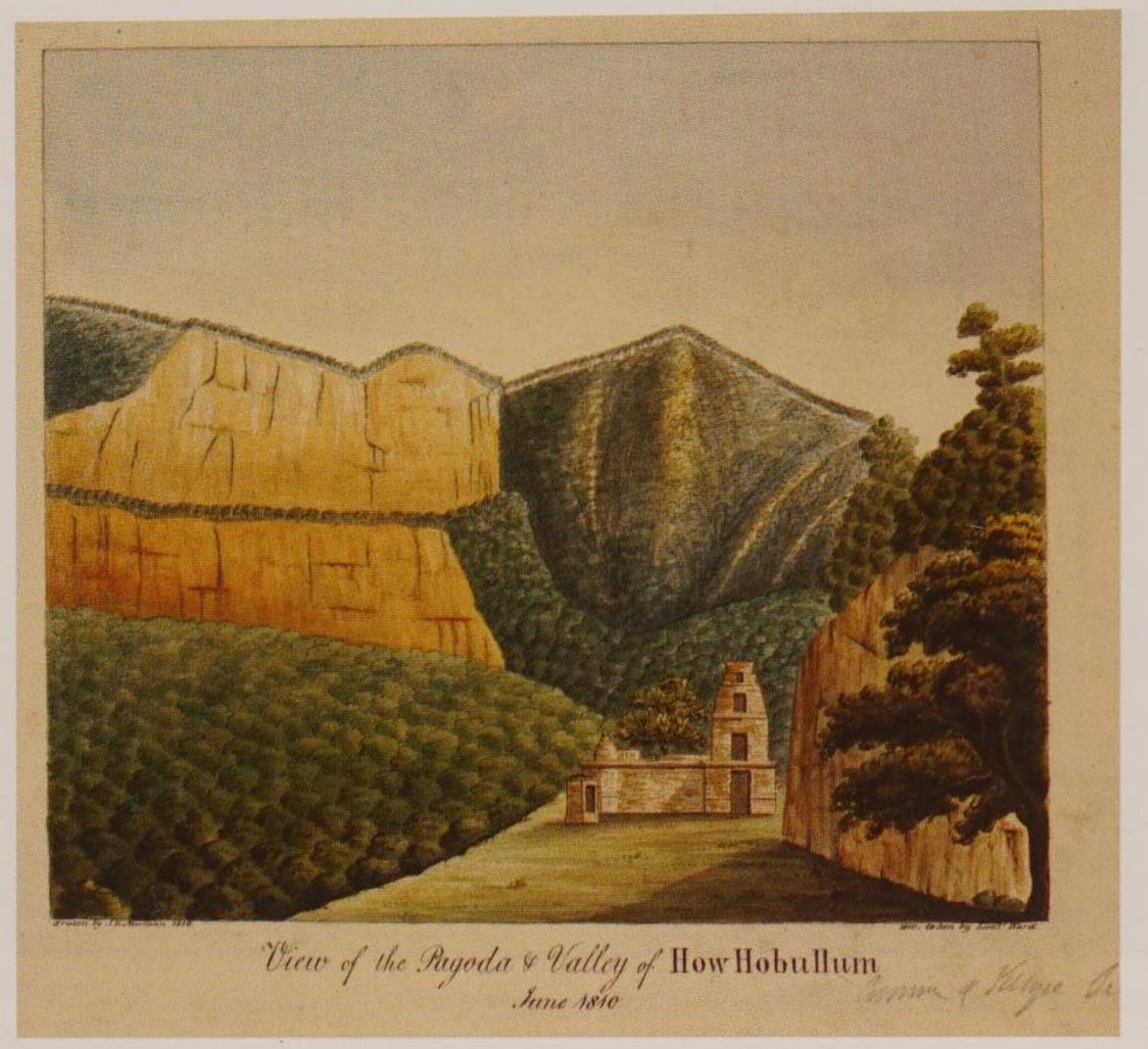


Plate 21. Fair copy watercolour of Ahobilam, by John Newman, 1816. Based on Benjamin Swain Ward's sketch of Ahobilam, dated June 1810 (WD588)

Plate 22. Fair copy watercolour of a temple at Vallam, near Thanjavur, by Christian Ignatio, 1817. Based on a sketch taken by Mackenzie in 1784 (WD626)

Distant View of **Mulwakull**
& of Earl Cornwallis's Army filing off towards that place
on the March February 26th 1791

Plate 23. Fair copy watercolour, showing Cornwallis' army on the march in 1791, by John Newman, *c.* 1815. Based on an original sketch by Mackenzie dated 1791, taken from a hill fort probably in Baramahal (WD572)

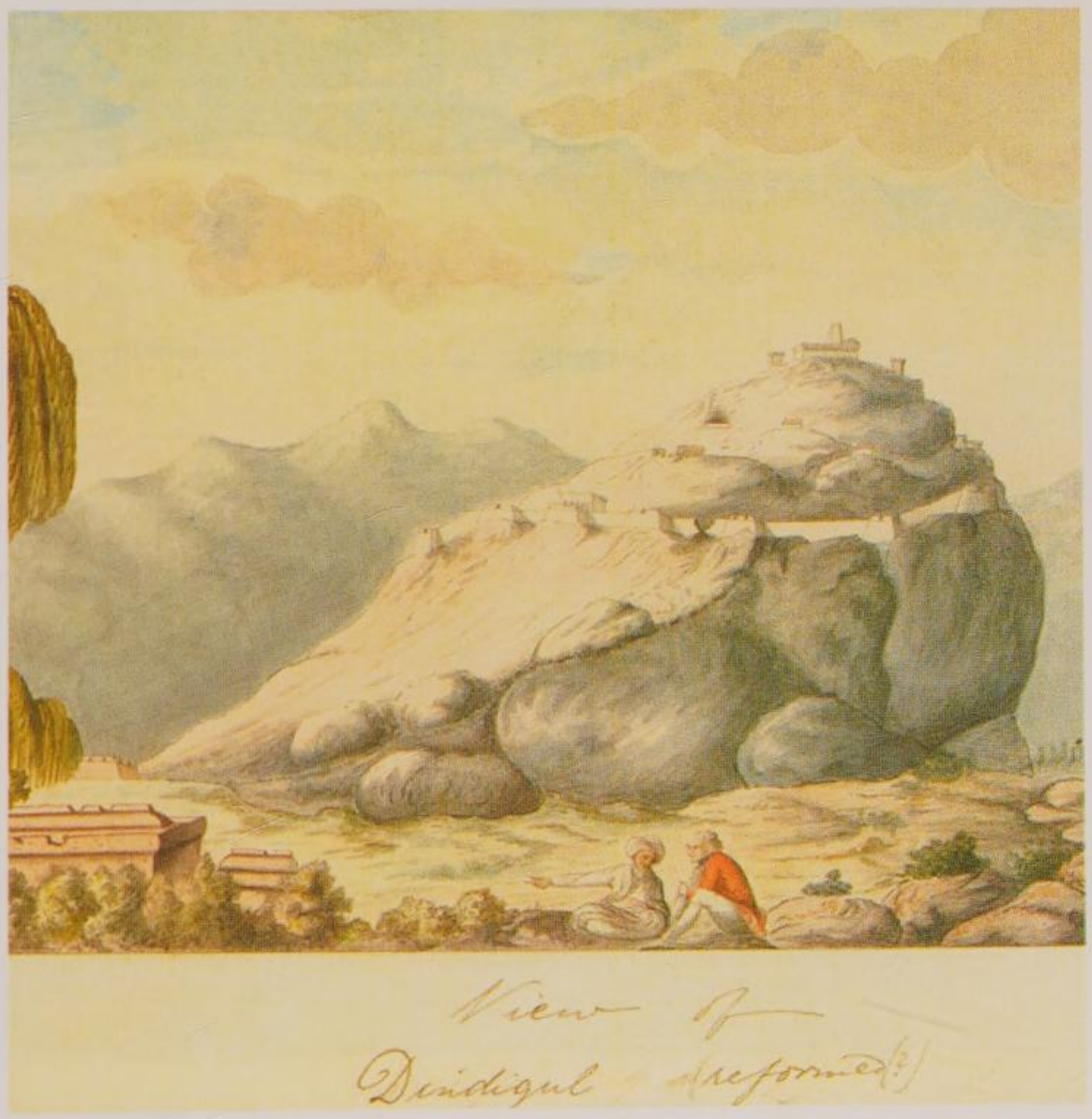


Plate 24. Fair copy watercolour of Dindigal Fort. c. 1815. Based on a sketch taken in 1790 (WD640)

Plate 25. Dutch military surveyor with his team at Chandi Sewu, central Java, by Hermanus Christian Cornelius, c. 1815 (WD957, f.1)

Plate 26. Watercolour showing a survey party on the east shore of Loch Rannoch, Scotland in 1749, by Paul Sandby (K.Top.50.83.2)

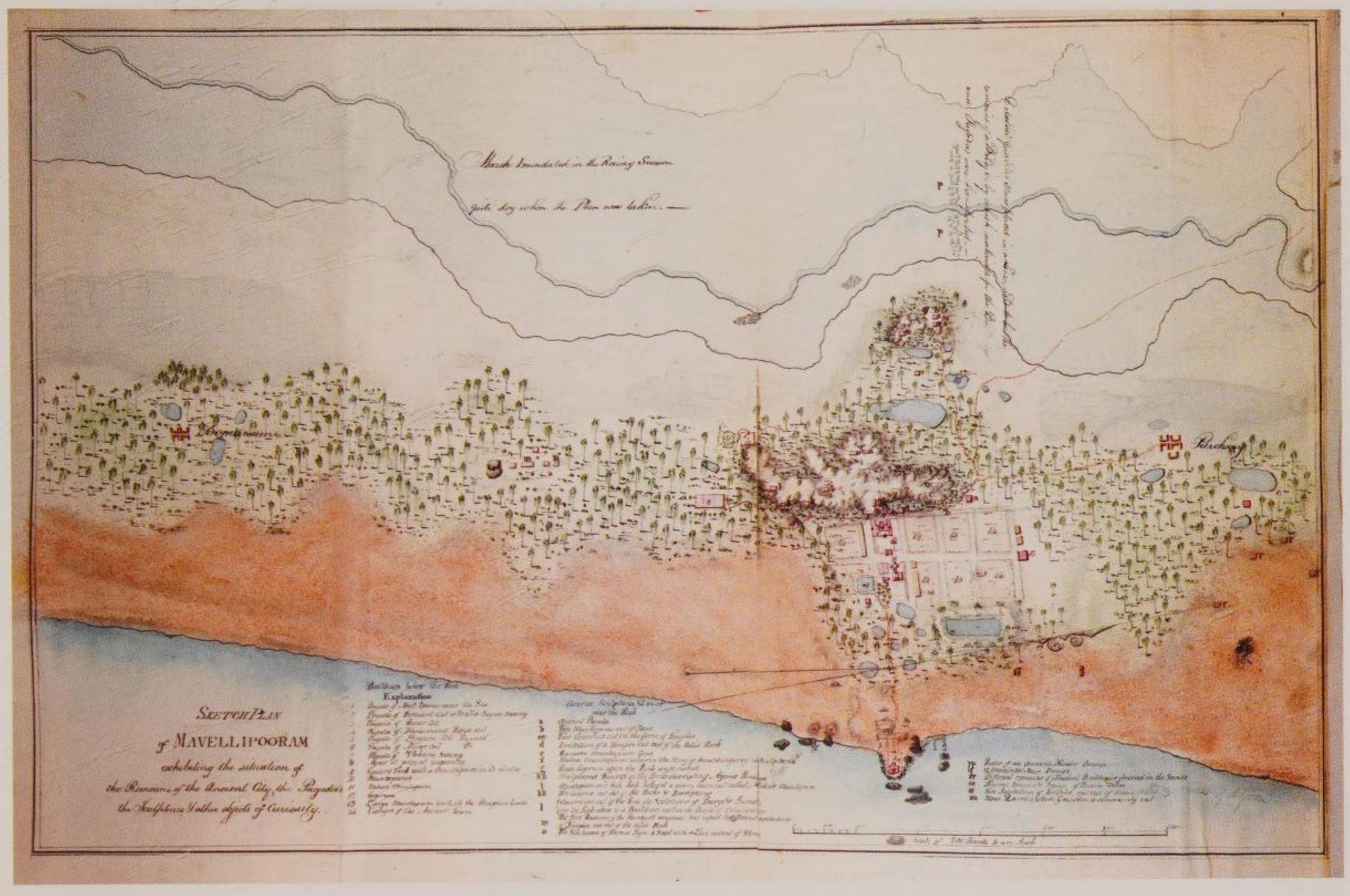

Sketch Plan
of Mavellipooram
exhibiting the situation of
the Remains of the Ancient City the Pagodas
the Sculptures & other objects of Curiosity.
Explanation

Plate 27. Map of Mahabalipuram prepared by Colin Mackenzie's assistant surveyors in 1808 (Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.276)

Plate 28. South-east view of a ruined temple buried in the sand to the north of the 'Arjuna's Penance' cliff face. Drawn by John Newman, 30 July 1816 (WD1068, f.11)

Plate 29. View of the five *rathas* at Mahabalipuram, 23 July 1816 (WD2625)

Plate 30. Watercolour by Bhavani Baksh, the Vishnupada Temple, Gaya (WD732)

Plate 31. Watercolour of the Mahadeo Temple by John Newman, 26 December 1813 (WD696)

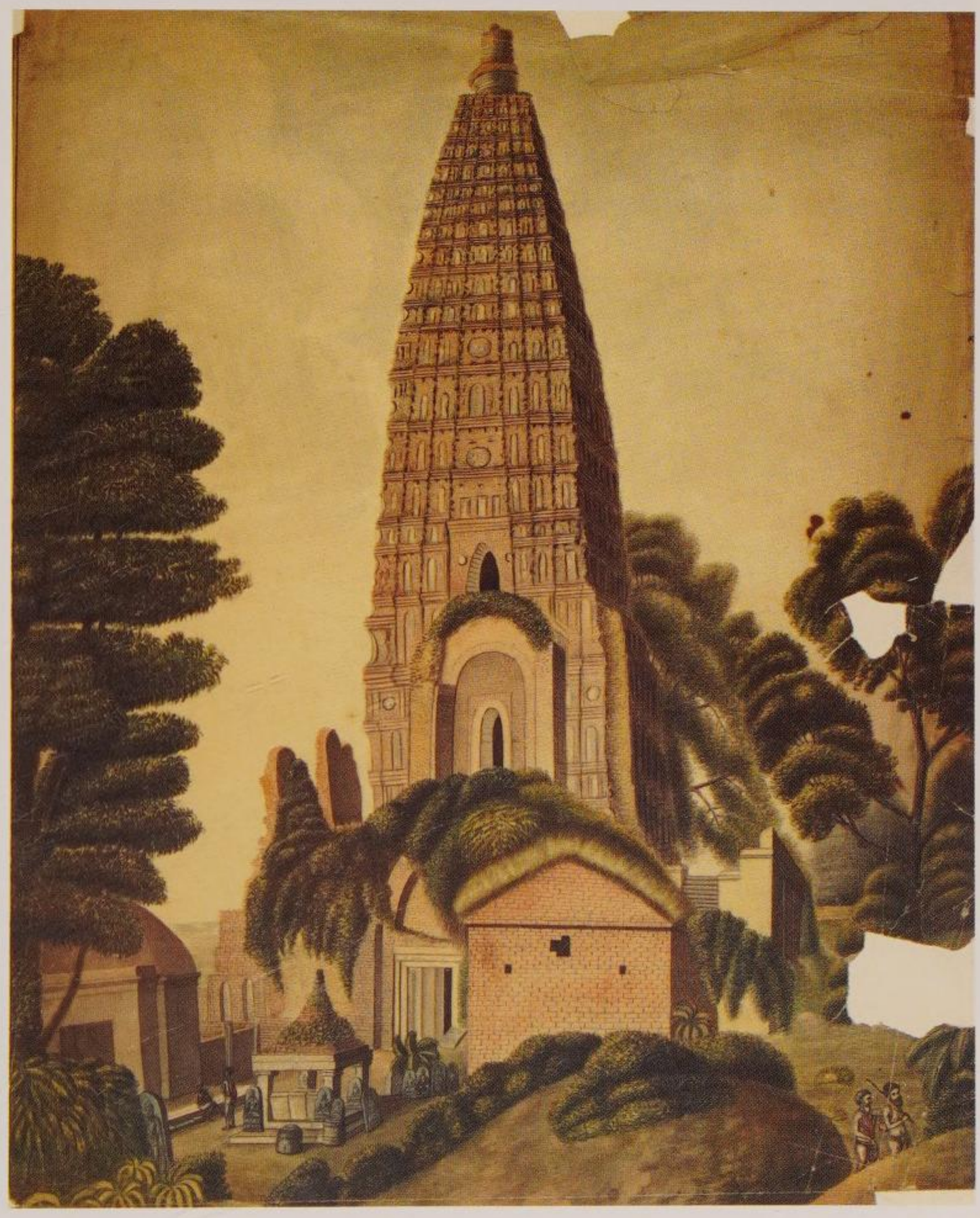


Plate 32. Watercolour of the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodhgaya by Bhavani Baksh (WD734)

N. W. Sketch of Shaar Shaws-Tomb *as seen from the Encamping ground*

at Sasseram *6th January 1814.*

Plate 33. Fair copy watercolour of Sher Shah's tomb by Shaikh Abdullah, 1819. Based on a field sketch, 6 January 1814 (WD700)

Plate 34. Watercolour of the Fakir's Rock at Sultanganj by John Newman (WD690)

Antiquities Delhi.

Ancient Tomb near Tugluckabad *March 1814*

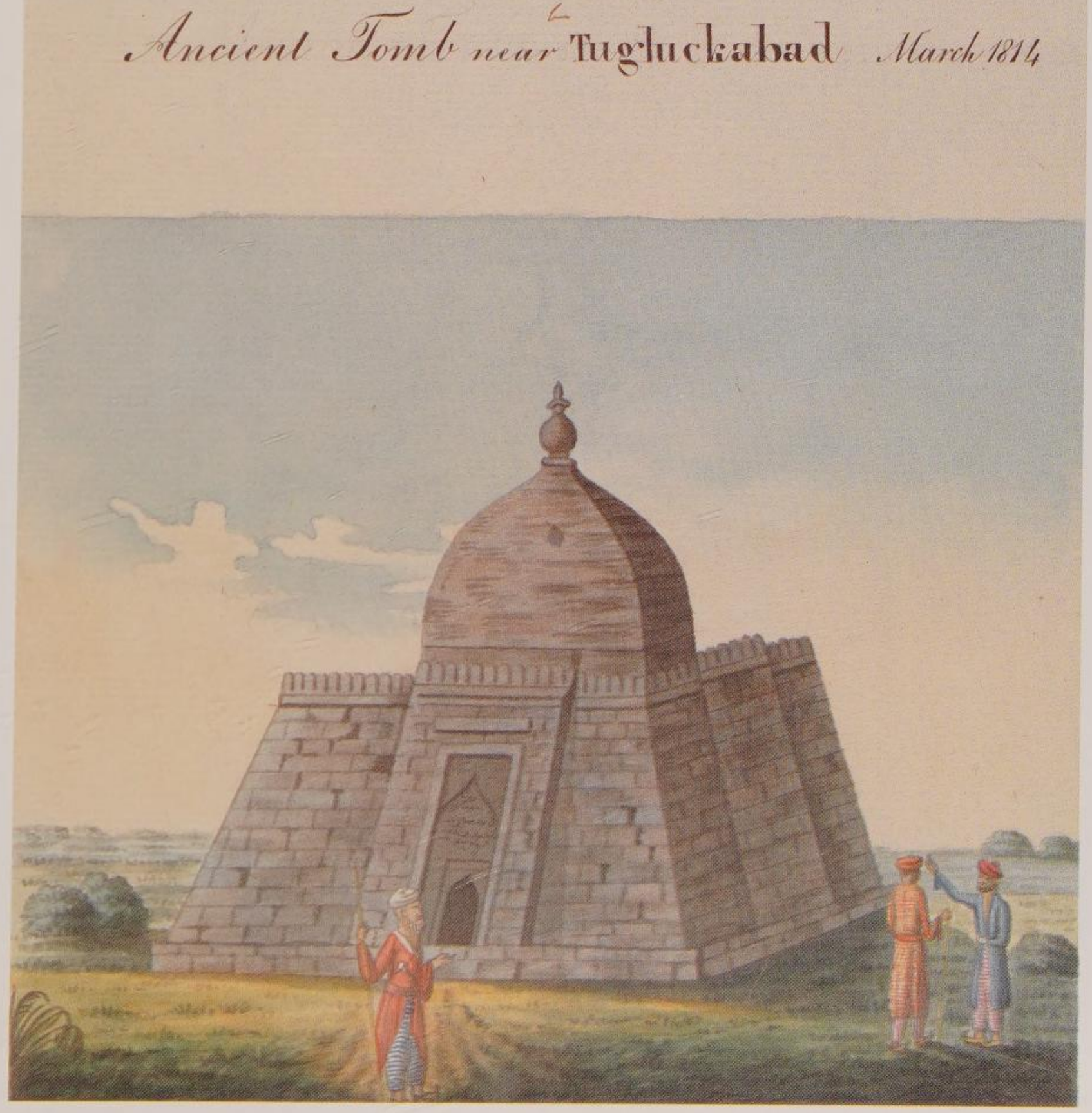


Plate 35. Fair copies by Shaikh Abdullah of Ghyas'ud-Din Tugluq's tomb, Tugluqabad. The fair copy dates the original visit to March 1814 (WD704)

Plate 36. Fair copy of the mosque at Cuttack by Shaikh Abdullah (WD684)

Plate 37. Fair copy by Christian Ignatio of the east side of Bellamkonda Fort, dated August 1816. Based on a field sketch taken in 1788 by Colin Mackenzie (WD663)

Plate 38. Plan of a temple, Trichur, Kerala. Signed by John Gould, 11 June 1816 (WD753)

Plate 39. Watercolour of Puri from the beach showing European houses and the Jagganath Temple, September 1820 (WD777)

Plate 40. Temples at Bhubaneswar, Orissa, July 1820 (WD679)

Chapter 4

Temples

The purpose of this chapter is to gain a clearer understanding of how Colin Mackenzie researched temples. The kind of information that he gathered on this topic was determined by the training of the people who gathered the information for him in the field. These people were Indian translators, or they were surveyors and engineers trained in European draftsmanship. Mackenzie also collected a large number of drawings of landscapes, many of which were later made into carefully finished watercolours, showing temples encountered in the field during surveys. By looking at all these different materials one can see how Mackenzie approached a topic such as the study of temples and how the training of his assistants, and to a lesser extent, the methods used by his contemporaries, influenced this side of his research. Although the focus of this chapter is the drawings, written accounts of temples that were collected contemporaneously in the field will also be considered.

Through this analysis, one can plot how Mackenzie used different kinds of drawings to investigate the form, function, and history of temples. The importance of such an analysis is essential if one wants to critique the most recognized drawing in the Mackenzie Collection (Plate 18). The drawing in question is a carefully composed watercolour—unsigned, untitled, and undated—showing a group of Indians and Europeans engaged in a temple survey. Between 2001 and 2003 this picture was reproduced in three scholarly publications[1] and was displayed at an international touring exhibition.[2] The interpretations given in these recent publications and in the exhibition unanimously interpret the picture as visual proof of the colonial compulsion to record on paper a scientific, Euro-centric understanding of India's history and culture. Whilst this interpretation of the Mackenzie Collection is true in very general terms, it has led to an oversimplified understanding of an extremely enigmatic image and of the Mackenzie Collection as a whole. By looking at a much broader corpus of material relating to the topic of temple surveys, and comparing the picture of the temple survey to other similar pictures in the Mackenzie Collection, one can establish why this highly finished watercolour was created.

Before launching into a full discussion of the picture of the temple survey, it is important to look at the variety of drawings Mackenzie collected of temples. These fall into two broad types. The first is topographical views. These are generally watercolours showing a building such as a temple at the centre of a larger landscape, which are based on sketches prepared during field surveys. The original field sketches were often gathered several years before the finished watercolour landscapes were produced. These watercolours, known as fair copies, were prepared

by professional copyists; when the information was available, and were labelled with the place and time that the original field sketch was prepared. Sometimes they were also labelled with the name of the draftsman who made the original sketch or the name of the copyist who made the fair copy. The date when the fair copy was created is occasionally also given. Mackenzie collected field sketches dated as early as the 1780s that were worked into fair copies throughout the following four decades of his career. Sometimes these landscapes were part of a series of pictures giving a narrative account of a journey. This is certainly the case for Mackenzie's pictures of the survey from Tuljapur to Hyderabad in 1797, and of the journey he made through the Upper Provinces in 1813–14.[3] Because fair copy watercolours giving narrative accounts are described in other chapters of this book, the focus here will be on watercolours that stand on their own as vignettes, particularly if they illustrate temples or other religious monuments. The topographical views will be examined more fully in the latter part of this chapter.

The other type of drawings which will now be considered are those that do not depict topographical views. These are generally line drawings of temple sculpture or architectural drawings of temple plans or elevations prepared by military surveyors. They are usually drawn with pen and ink, occasionally with a grey or colour wash, and they are only occasionally signed by the surveyor responsible for their creation. Most of the line drawings of sculpture and temple plans in the Mackenzie Collection were gathered during the Mysore Survey, between 1799 and 1810, and were bound into albums such as his 'Collection of Original Drawings of Hindoo Sculptures, Images and Ancient Monuments'.[4] Whilst many of these line drawings were by military surveyors of European origin, Mackenzie also collected a substantial quantity of line drawings by Indian artists. These usually depict individual sculptures and sculpted columns, or they are diagrams of temples. The largest set of line drawings by Indian artists collected by Mackenzie is contained in an album he gave Thomas Strange (1756–1841) documenting the buildings and sculpture of southern India.[5]

There are hundreds of line drawings, diagrams, and plans of temples in the Mackenzie Collection. It is easiest to examine them by grouping them according to the sites they represent. Our understanding of the line drawings is often enhanced by looking at contemporaneously gathered translations of local histories relating to the iconography and history of the temples. Mackenzie's Indian colleagues gathered these indigenous accounts in the field, sometimes at the same time that the surveyors were creating line drawings and plans of the monuments. There are many examples of such complementary drawings and translations of local accounts in the Mackenzie Collection.[6] The line drawings are impressively detailed and can give an idea of why Mackenzie was documenting them. In most cases, the subject matter of the line drawings connects with Mackenzie's interest in local history and religion.

Because it was not the custom for surveyors to sign their work, it is difficult to identify the individuals responsible for making the line drawings. One exception is a signed drawing of the sculpture of Vishnu Narayana in the Ranganathaswami Temple at Sivasamudram (Fig. 4.1).[7] This was a drawing by Edward Fraser (1780–1827), an Ensign in the Madras Engineers in 1800. Although there are other signed line drawings in the Mackenzie Collection, these generally bear the signatures of copyists who produced facsimile drawings at a later date, and not the signatures of the surveyors who drew the originals. For example, in three different parts of the Mackenzie

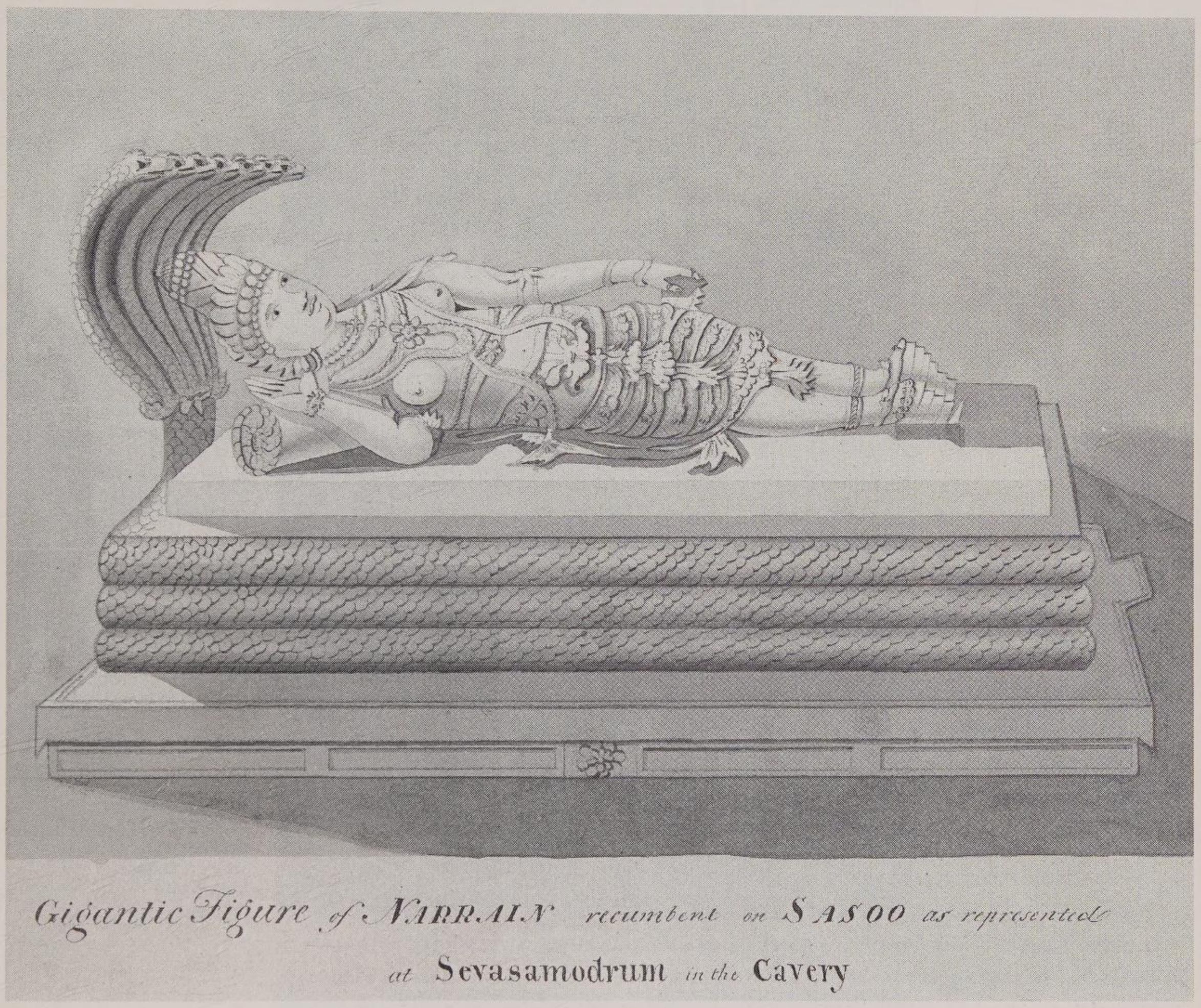


Fig. 4.1 Drawing of the colossal figure of Vishnu Narayana in the Ranganathaswami Temple at Sivasamudram by Edward Fraser, 1800 (WD1065, f.14)

Collection, the same drawing appears of a naga stone bearing an inscription in the Madhukesvara Temple at Banavasi (Fig. 4.2). One of these drawings is signed by John Newman, a copyist who worked for Mackenzie between 1811 and 1819, after the Mysore Survey was completed.[8] A label tells us that the original field drawing was taken on 1 March 1806. These copies of the original sketch were made in around 1811 or later. There are other drawings that were taken at the Madhukesvara Temple at Banavasi in March 1806. These depict a plan and elevation of a cot or bench carved out of a solid piece of stone which is highly polished and decorated with carvings (Figs 4.3, and 4.4). Perhaps these two other drawings were also copies prepared at a later date by John Newman. Banavasi was the first place mentioned on Mackenzie's list of 'Remarkable Places' encountered during the Mysore Survey, so clearly it was important to him to document these beautifully carved stone objects in the Madhukesvara Temple, hence his desire to have them copied at a later date.[9]

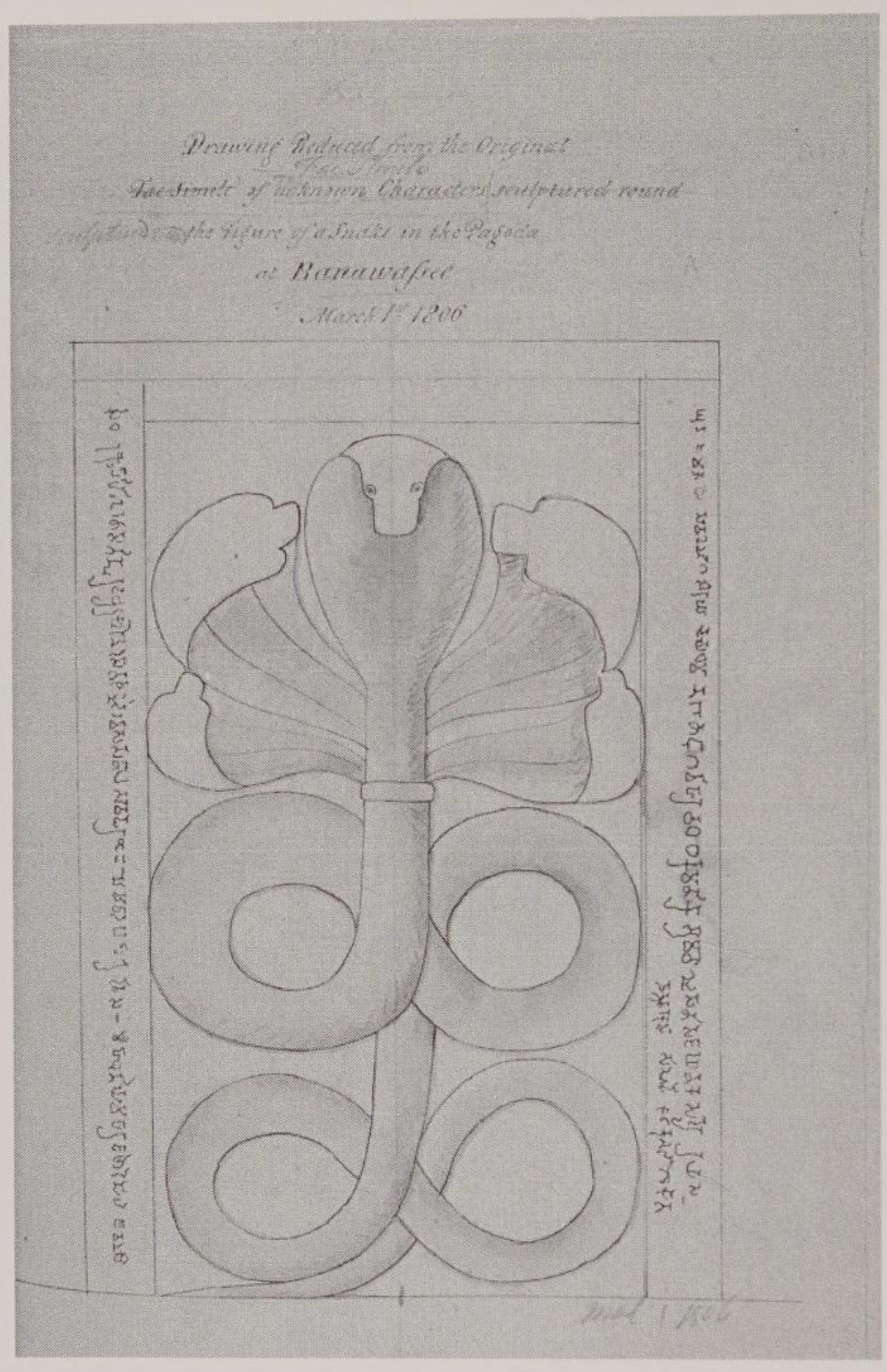

Drawing Reduced from the Original
Inscribed on the Large Granite Stone
Stone Image of the Seven Chattered Serpent covered
Sculptured on the Figure of a Snake on the Pagoda
at Bannawassee
March 1st 1806

Fig. 4.2 Drawing of the large, inscribed Naga stone in the Madhukesvara Temple at Banavasi, 1 March 1806 (WD1064, f.151)

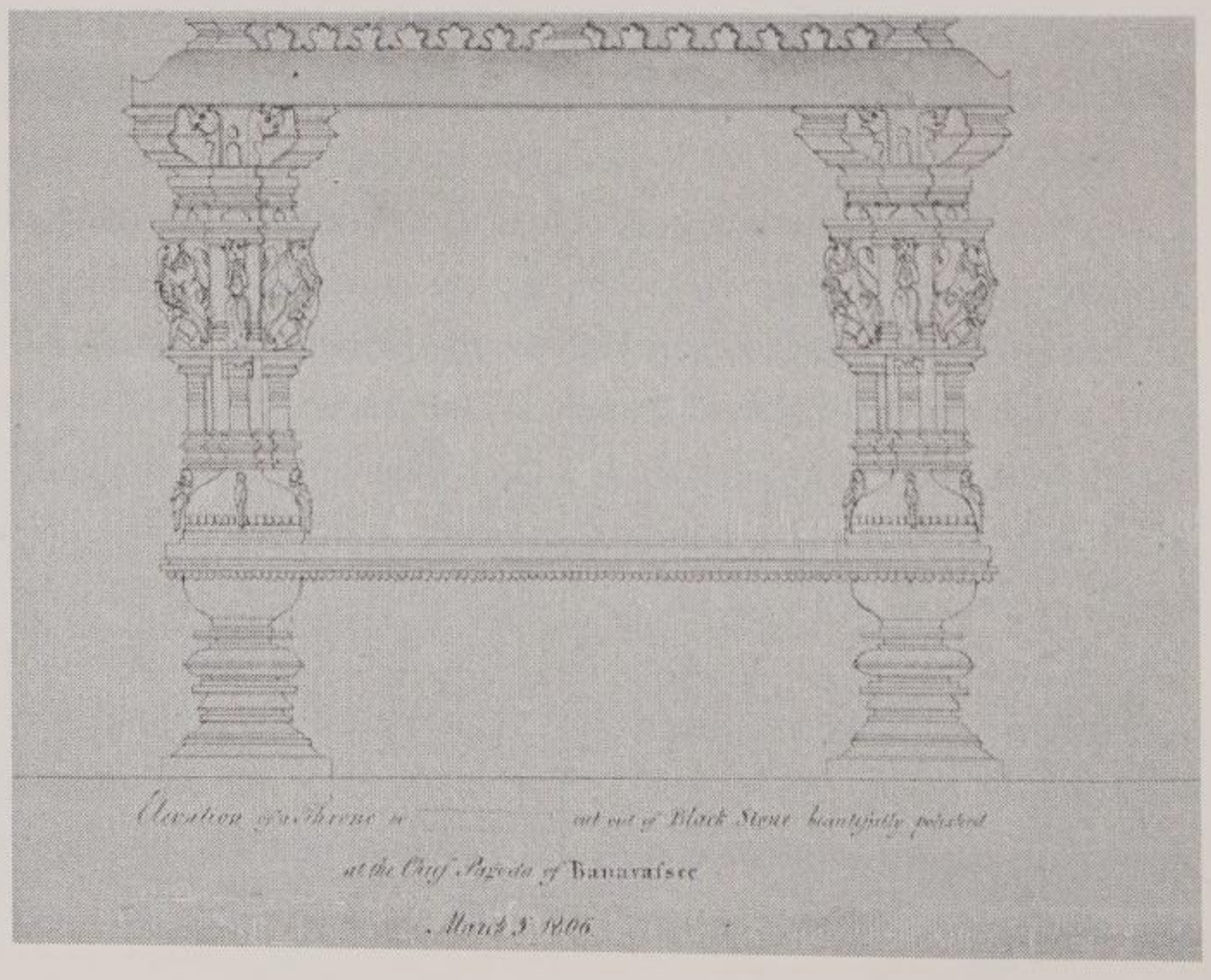


Fig. 4.3 Elevation of the ornately carved black stone throne in the Madhukesvara Temple, Banavasi, 3 March 1806 (WD1064, f.32)

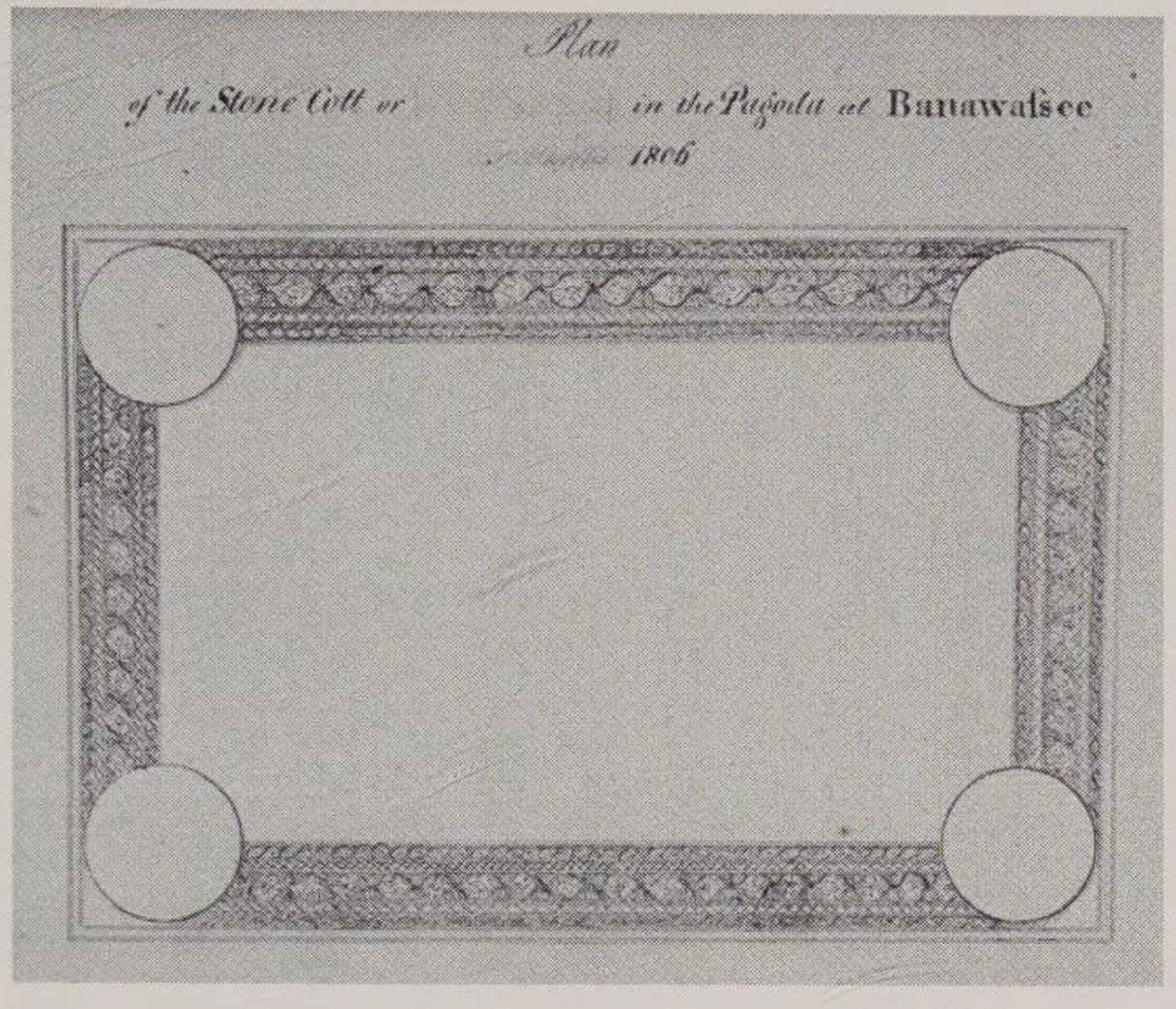


Fig. 4.4 Plan of the ornately carved black stone throne in the Madhukesvara Temple, Banavasi, March 1806 (WD1064, f.33)

Indian artists were also responsible for gathering line drawings of temples and temple sculpture. For example, there is a set of line drawings of columns in the Pudu Mandapam of the Minakshi Sundaresvara Temple at Madurai in two different albums assembled by Mackenzie (Fig. 4.5).[10] These line drawings are by a Tamil artist and in one of the albums the drawings are accompanied by Tamil descriptions of their iconography. The drawings of Madurai temple columns depict figures and architectural elements in the style one would expect of an Indian artist, but they have been adapted to suit the tastes of a western commission. Similar drawings of the columns in Madurai's Pudu Mandapam were made in the late eighteenth century.[11]

During the Mysore Survey (1799–1810) Mackenzie gathered large quantities of line drawings, plans, and histories relating to temples in the Deccan. For example, in 1805 Mackenzie's draftsmen visited the small, east-facing Virabhadra Temple at Koppa, near the eighth century pilgrimage site at Sringeri, and made drawings of the sculptures carved on the north, west, and south sides of its outer *vimana* (central shrine) wall (Figs 4.6, and 4. 7). These drawings were prepared in May 1805. The sculptures carved on the outside of the sanctum clearly indicate that it is a Siva temple. Because Koppa is on the road to Sringeri, it must have been an important rest stop for pilgrims. In 1805 Mackenzie and his surveyors also made drawings of the Kotesvara Temple at Kubtur. This temple was probably constructed in the early Hoyshala period, and although it bears certain characteristics of Hoyshala temples, it differs as well. During the Mysore Survey, Kubtur was still known by its ancient name, Kuntalnagar. Amongst this small set of drawings there is a plan of the temple dated June 1805. As was the convention with plans by military surveyors, a pink wash indicates the location of stone walls and columns, and a key below the plan shows the location of steps, screens, and raised platforms inside the temple (Fig. 4.8). A page of drawings was also collected which gives details of the areas marked on the plan. In particular, there is a drawing of the screen in front of the temple's sanctum that shows the style of the screen's floral decoration. There is also a drawing of the temple's inner wall, showing how it is carved into a continuous run of benches (Fig. 4.9). Another picture shows one of the smooth, polished stone columns inside the temple (Fig. 4.10).

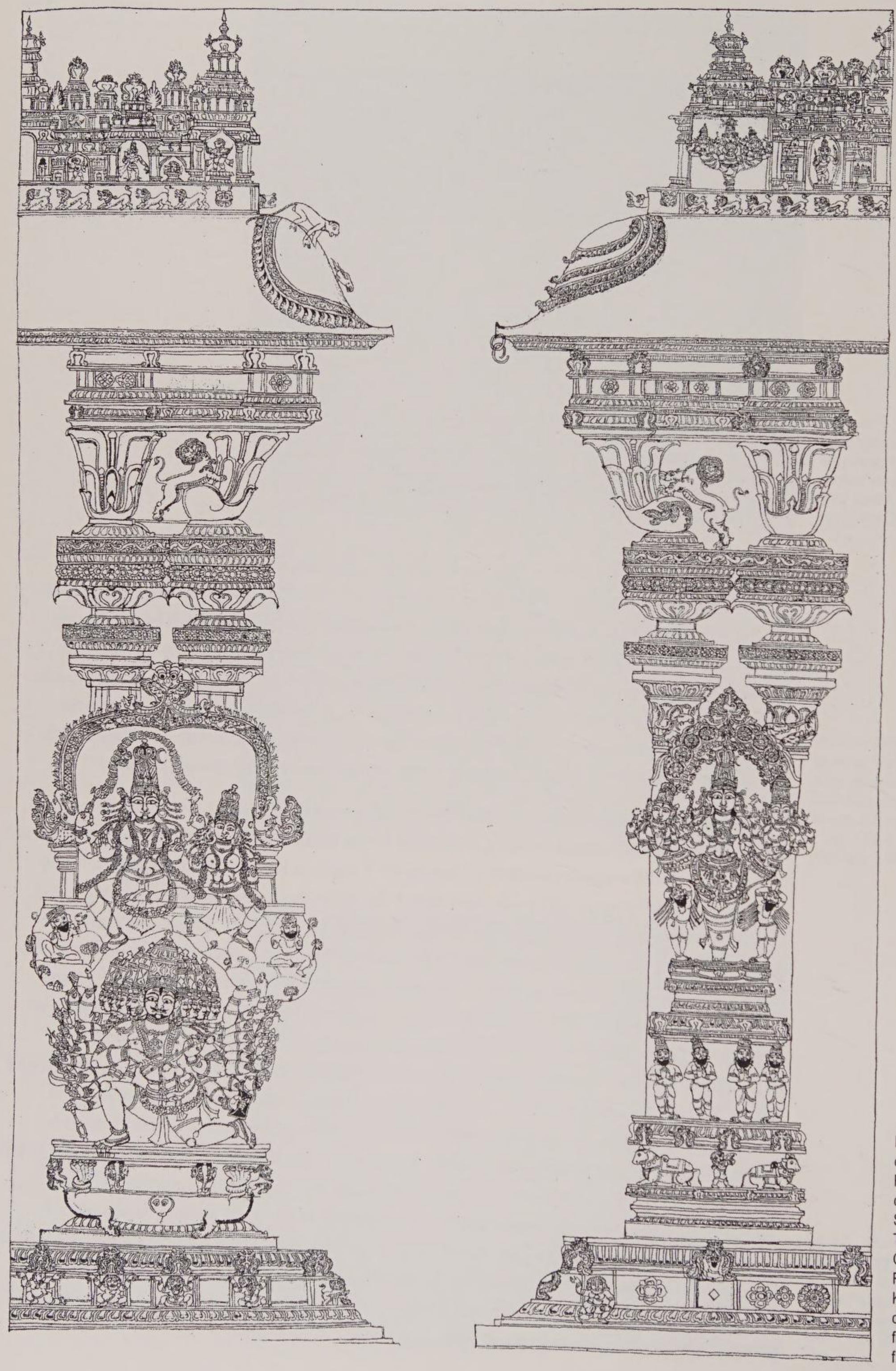


Fig. 4.5 Two columns in the Pudu Mandapam of the Minakshi Sundaresvara Temple at Madurai. One is carved with Ravana shaking Mt Kailash, and the other with a Trimurti figure (Add.29324, f.77)

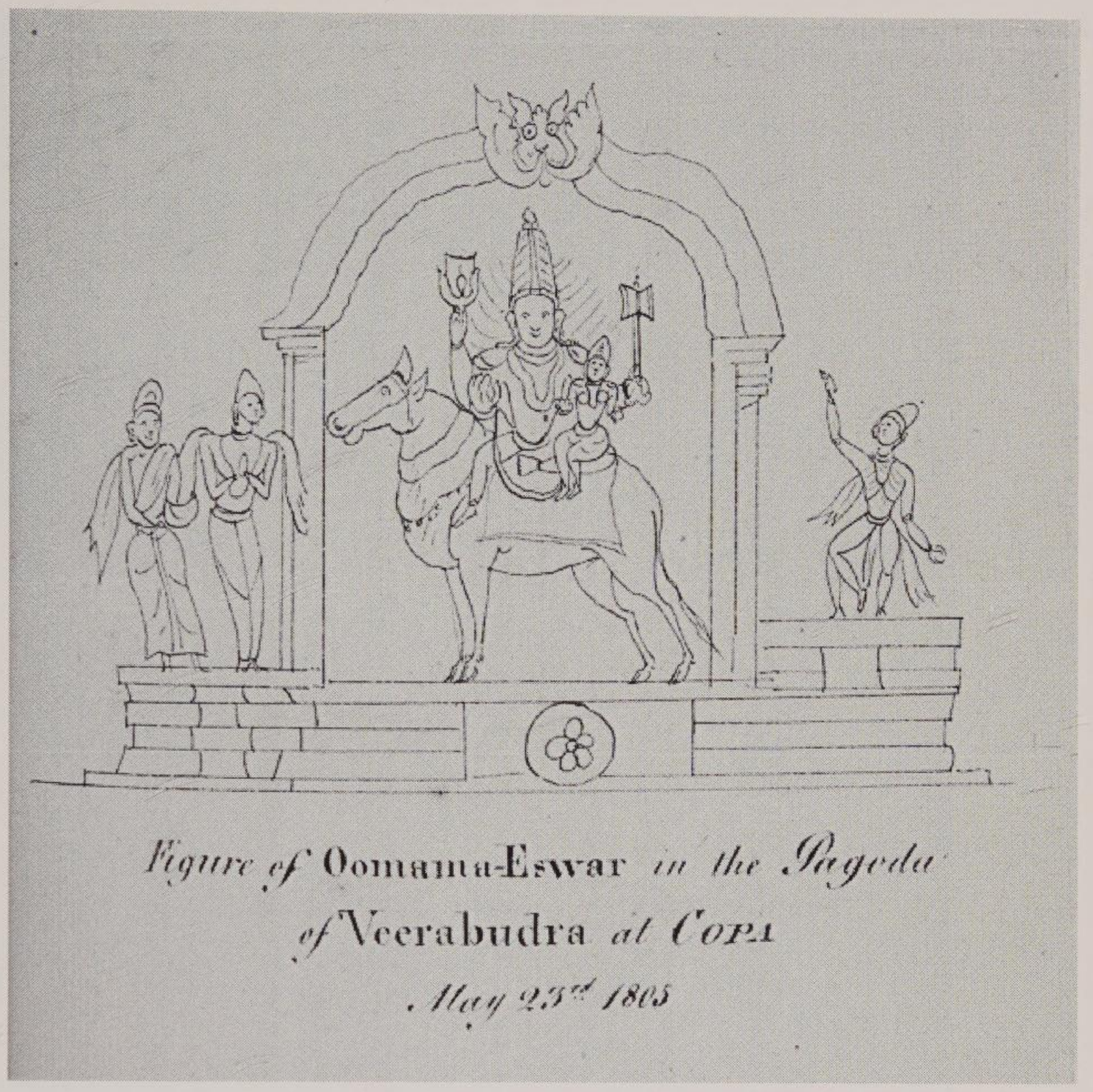


Fig. 4.6 Carving of Vishnu and Parvati on horseback on the north wall of the Virabhadra Temple, Koppa, Karnataka, 23 May 1805 (WD1064, f.147)

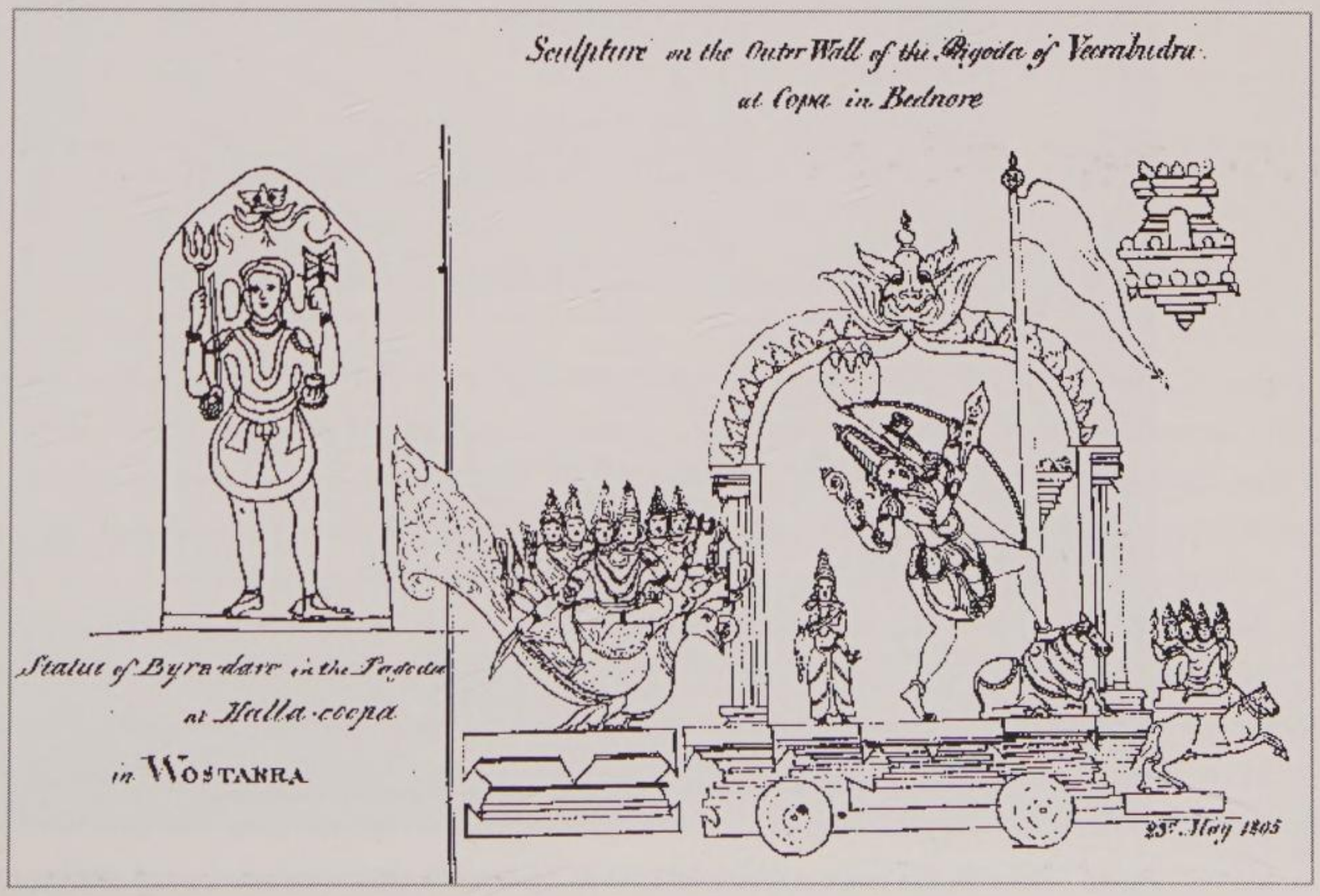
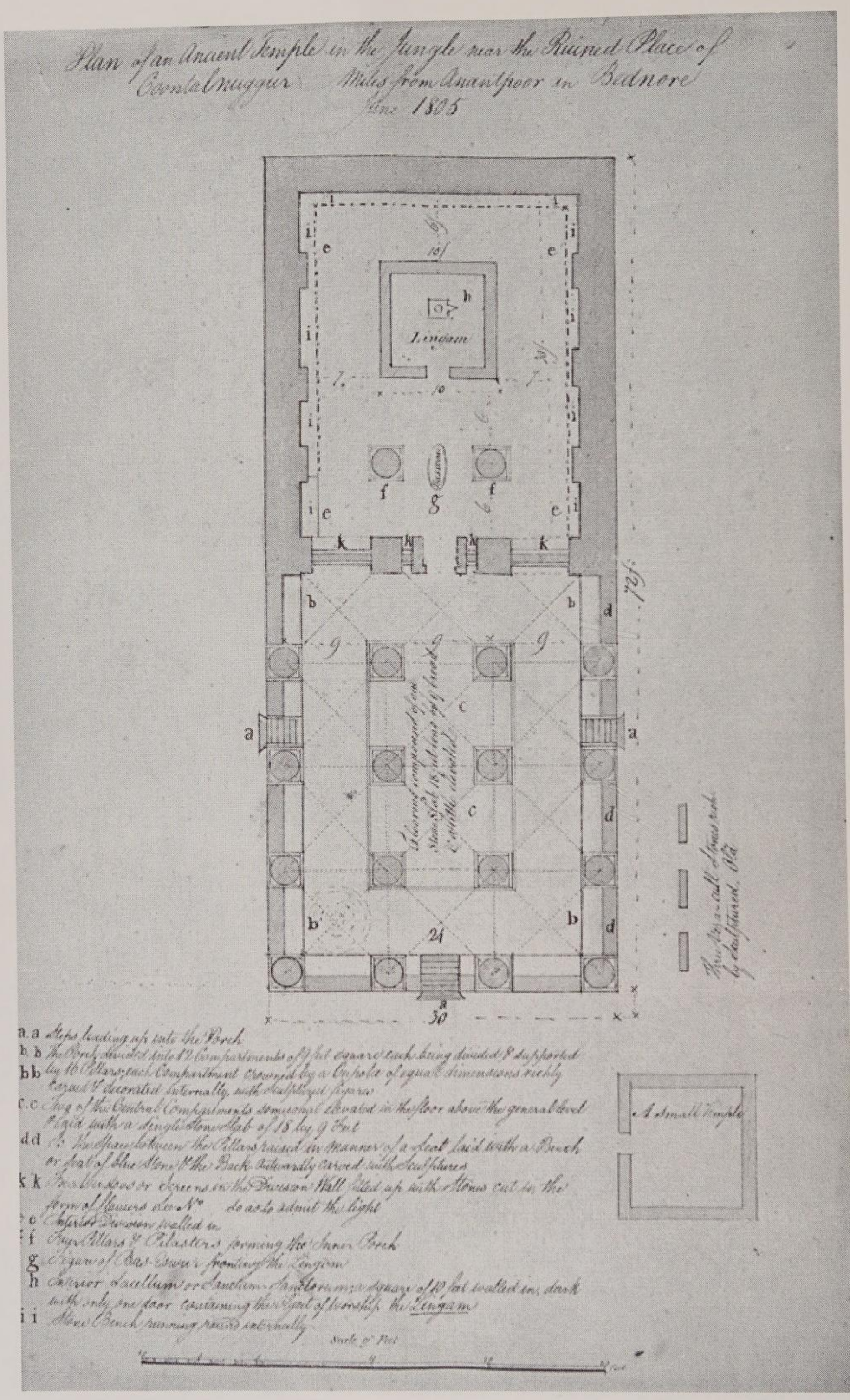

Sculpture on the Outer Wall of the Pagoda of Veerabudra
at Copa in Bednore
Statue of Byradave in the Pagoda
at Halla-coopa
in Wostarra
25th. May 1805

Fig. 4.7 Carving of Rama firing an arrow on the south wall of the Virabhadra Temple, Koppa, 23 May 1805 (WD1064, f.148)

Plan of an Ancient Temple in the Jungle near the Ruined Place of Conda Conapeer 7 Miles from Ameelpoor in Balnore
June 1805



a.a Steps leading up into the Porch
b.b The Porch divided into 12 Compartments of 9 Ft square each being divided & supported
bb by 16 Pillars each Compartment crowned by a Cupola of equal dimensions richly
carved & decorated externally with Mythological figures
c.c Two of the Central Compartments immediately elevated in the floor above the general level
& roofed with a single Stone Slab of 15 by 9 Feet
d.d Flat Surface between the Pillars raised in manner of a Seat laid with a Bench
or Slab of Blue Stone & the Back Richly carved with Sculptures
k k Four Windows or Screens in the Partition Wall filled up with Stones cut in the
form of Flowers &c. &c. to admit the Light
e e Enclosed Partition walled in
f f Four Pillars & Pilasters forming the Inner Porch
g Figure of Bas Relief fronting the Entrance
h Interior Sanctum or Sanctum Sanctorum 12 Feet square & 10 Ft walled in, dark
with only one door Entering the East of towards the Entrance
i i Stone Bench running round internally

Fig. 4.8 Plan of the Siva Temple at Kubtur, near Banavasi, showing walls, columns and sanctum, June 1805 (WD1064, f.3)

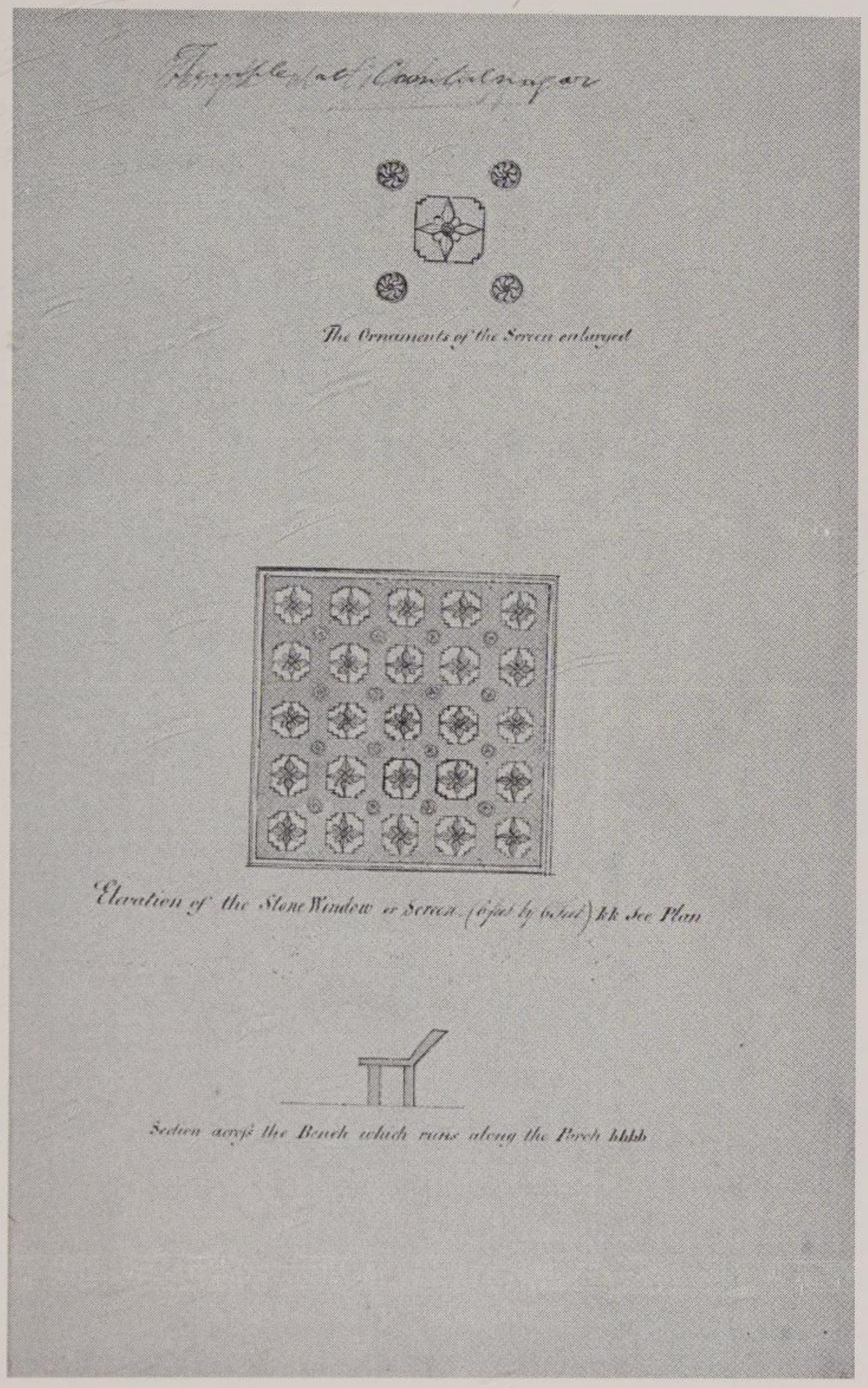

The Ornaments of the Screen enlarged
Elevation of the Stone Window or Screen (6 feet by 6 feet) See Plan
Section across the Bench which runs along the Porch

Fig. 4.9 Drawings of the carved screens and benches inside the Siva Temple at Kubtur, near Banavasi. Inscribed, 'Temple at Coontalnagar. The ornaments of the screen enlarged. Elevation of the stone window or screen (6 feet by 6 feet), see plan. Section across the bench which runs along the porch' (WD1064, f.4)

Another temple that Mackenzie's draftsmen documented was the Kolaramma Temple at Kolar, near Bangalore. The core of this temple is a Chola construction from the eleventh century. Although the Mackenzie drawings of the Kolaramma Temple were made in 1807, Mackenzie was already familiar with this site because the British camped there during the Third Mysore War.[12] One of the drawings is of the temple's ground plan. It is coloured to indicate what materials were used to construct various parts of the temple; so areas made of stone can be distinguished from those made of earth. It provides an important record of the temple's morphology in 1807 by showing these accretions made of different materials. The other two drawings are elevations showing the west and south sides of the temple. These elevations show the various layers of moulding and sculpture that cover the temple's exterior, providing an important early study of a goddess temple in Karnataka (Figs 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13) .

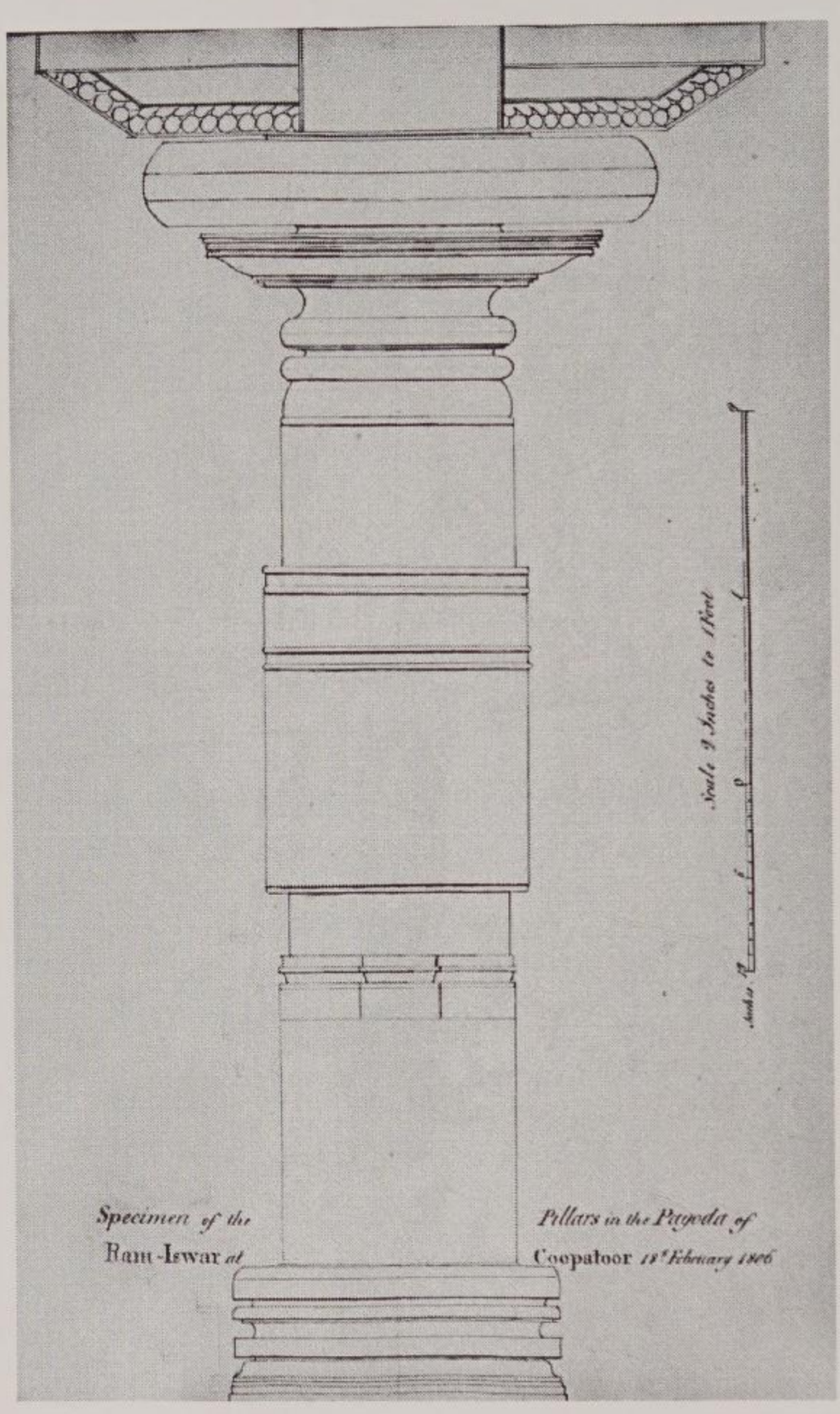


Fig. 4.10 Drawing of a column inside the Siva Temple at Kubtur, near Banavasi, 18 February 1806 (WD1064, f.24)

The temple that Mackenzie most prolifically documented was the Hoysalesvara Temple at Halebid. This large Siva temple was built in the mid-twelfth century and features a distinctive double sanctum. Mackenzie collected drawings of the sculptures carved on the western side of the temple's outer wall, as well as a floor plan of the temple, and a plan of Halebid town showing where the temple stood in relation to other structures. Mackenzie's Indian translators also gathered written accounts from local people relating to the temple, including a Sanskrit account 'of the Origin and Fall of the Balal Raya or Hoisala Dynasty' or the 'Balana Carita'.[13] In this translation we learn why the Hoysalesvara Temple has such a busy sculptural programme and lacks a central *shikara* (tower over the temple's sanctum).

> Balana Raja sent for the architect Jagan Acharya and ordered him to build a temple to Shiva, in which the image would be named Hoysalesvara. He paid the architect in gold weighing the same amount as the image and sculptures. The temple was thus covered by an abundance of sculpted figures. The king also granted villages to pay for the daily and annual ceremonies of the God. In spite of beginning the temple's construction at an auspicious time, the king was warned that the spire was in danger of flying off to Kailasha. As a result of this warning, the spire was never fixed to the temple.[14]

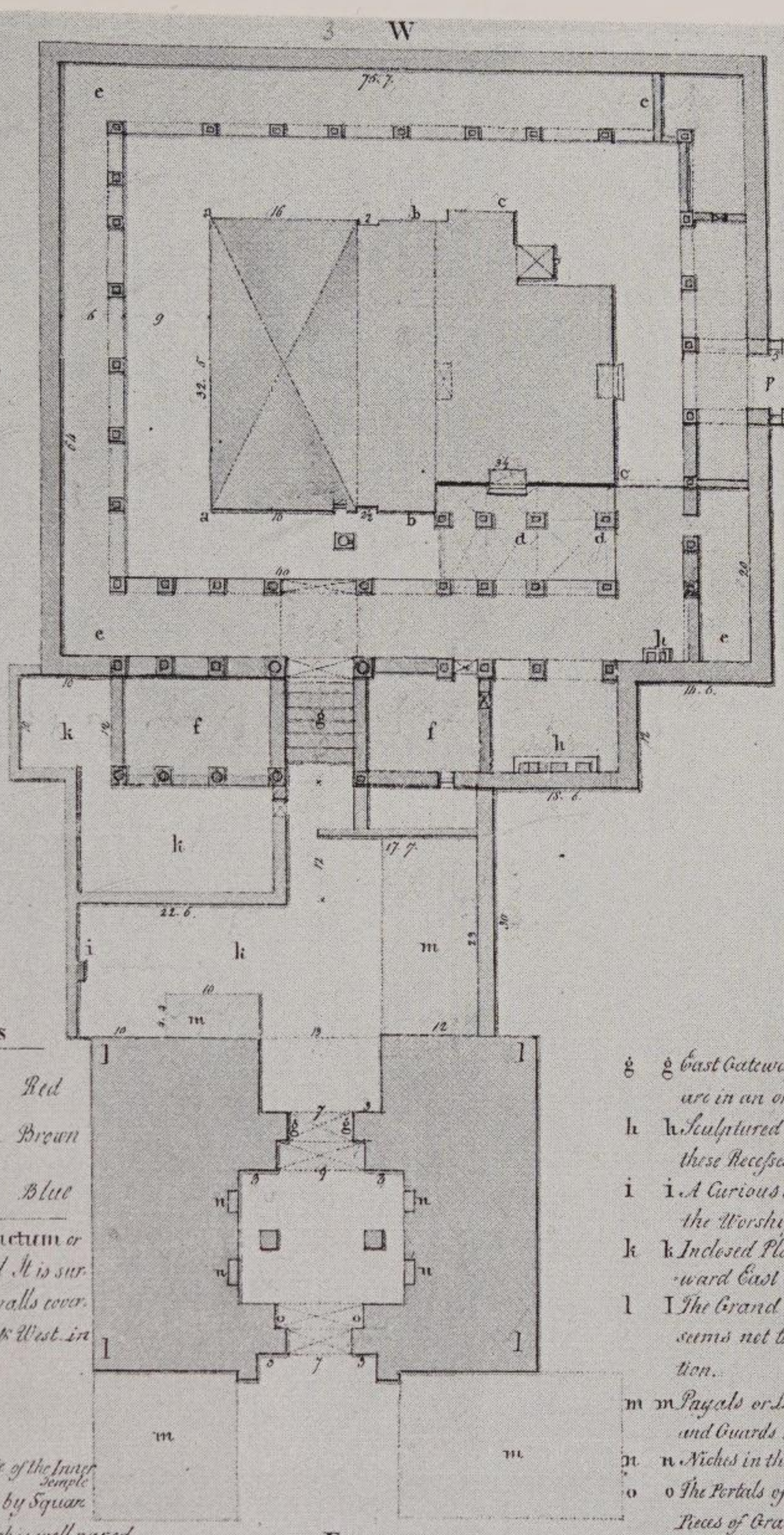

W
S
N
E
Explanation & References
The Inclosures & Walls built in Granite are tinged ..... Red
The Mud walls ..... Brown
Work in Blue Stones as Steps Sculptures &c. ..... Blue
a a The Gurb-Agrahum or Interior Sanctum or Aditum where the Pooja is performed It is surmounted by a Coombe Roof & the Outer walls covered with Inscriptions on the South, East & West in Compartments
d d A Portico on 6 Pillars before the East Gate of the Inner Temple
e e A Covered Gallery or Coridore supported by Square Pillars running round the Court which is well paved
f f Two Rooms ..... walled in on each side of the Eastern Inner Gate (g). A desent by 6 Stone Steps into the Court there The Pillars supporting the left room have large Circular Capitals
References
g g East Gateway supported by 4 Pillars: 2 of which are in an ornamented Stile see Drawing N°
h h Sculptured Figures Male & Female placed in these Recesses: see Drawing N°
i i A Curious Sculptured Figure significant of the Worship here see Drawing N°
k k Inclosed Places between the Temple & the Outward East Gate Mud Walls
l l The Grand East Gateway, the Spire of which seems not to have been completed See Elevation.
m m Pagals or Low Terraces whereon The Watchmen and Guards recline or rest during their tour of duty
n n Niches in the Grand Gateway
o o The Portals of the Grand Gateway formed of Large Pieces of Granite from 9 to 12 Feet long curiously carved with Sculptures see Drawing N°
p North Gate shut up
Ground Plan of
The Ancient Temple of Coll-Amma at COLAR
(1807)
Scale of 16 Feet to an Inch
5

Fig. 4.11 Plan of the Kolaramma Temple at Kolar, near Bangalore, 1807 (WD1064, f.5)

Elevation of the West End of the Temple of **Coll-Amma** *at* COLAR

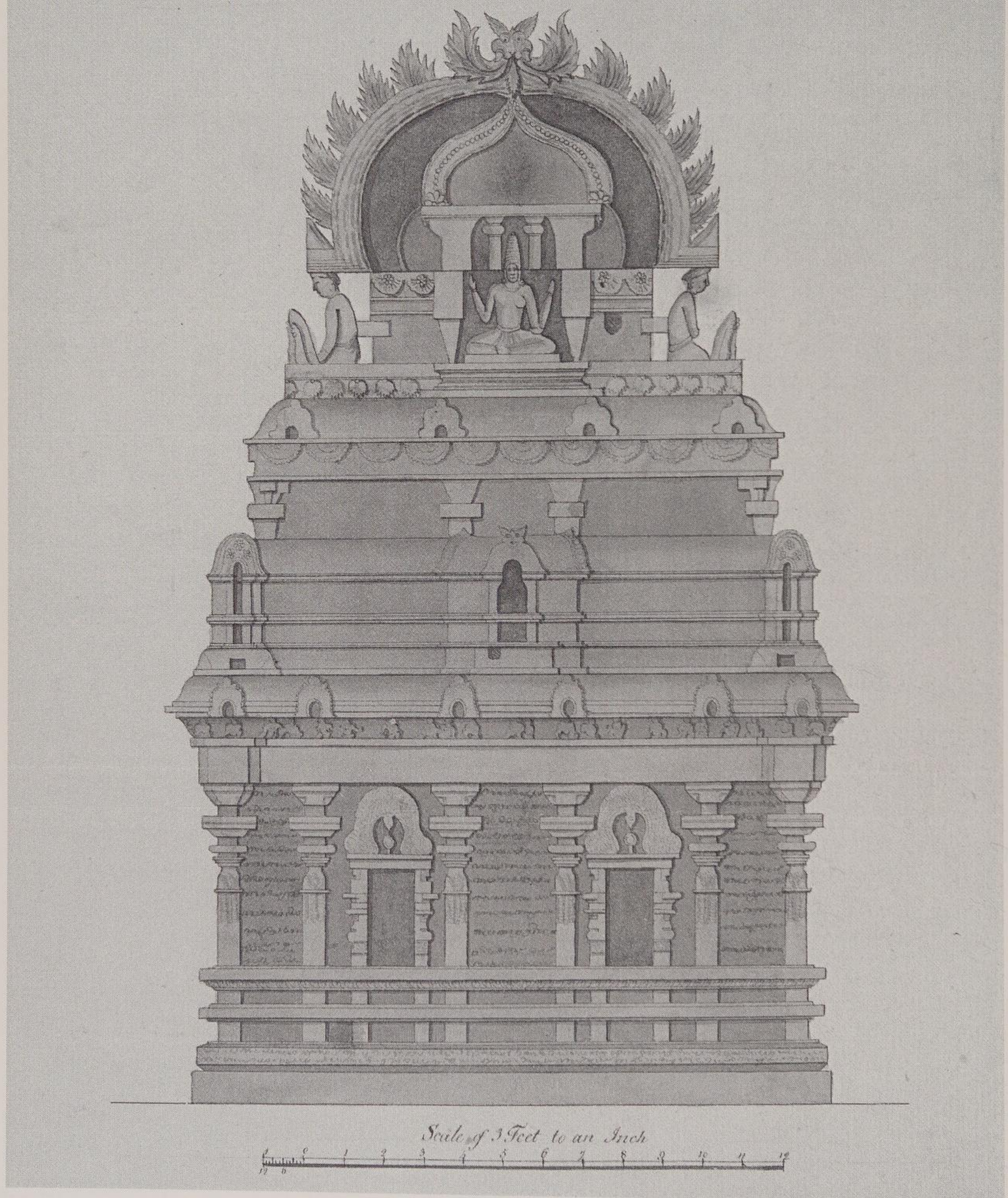


Fig. 4.12 Elevation of the west side of the Kolaramma Temple, Kolar, 1807 (WD1064, f.6)

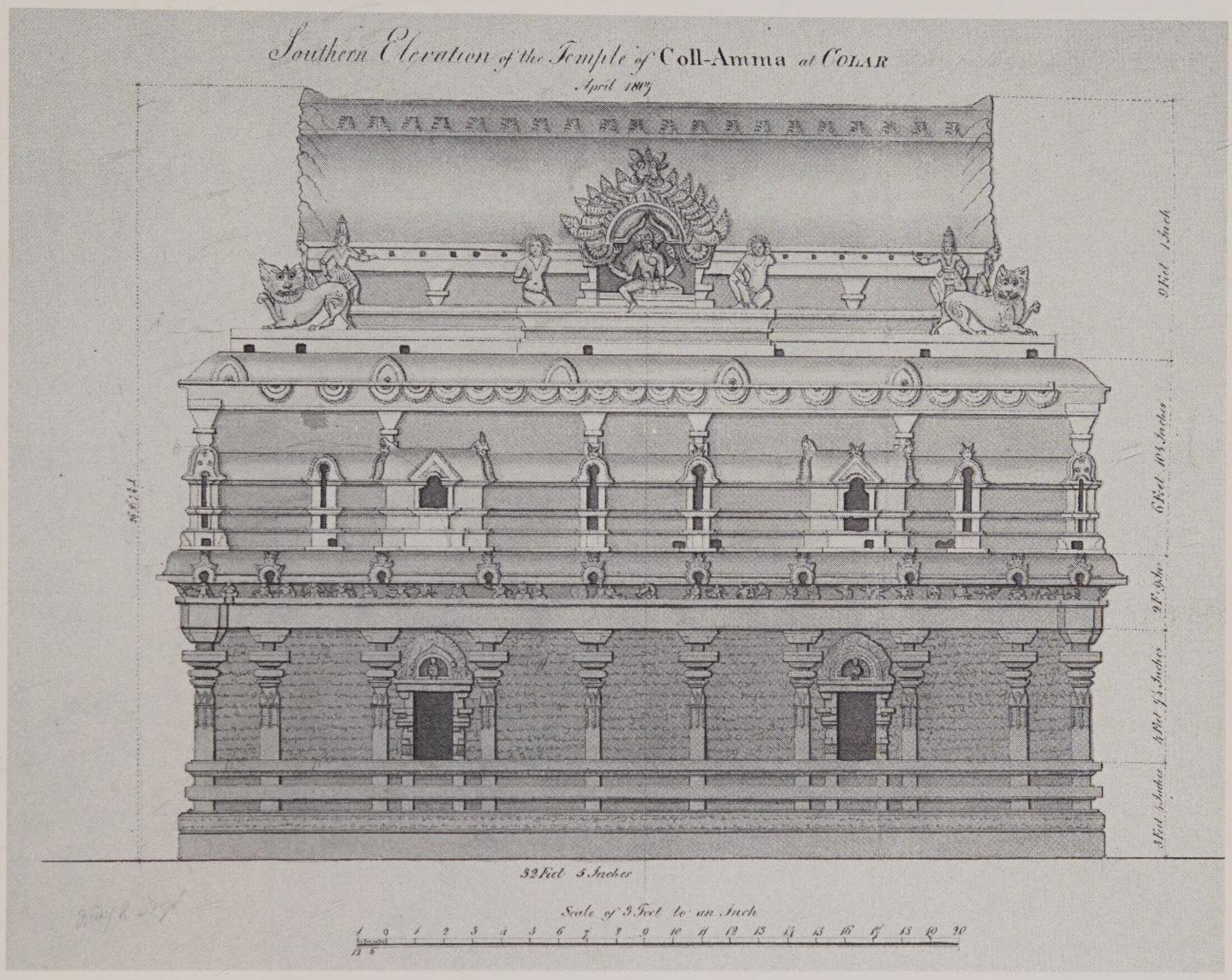


Fig. 4.13 Elevation of the south side of the Kolaramma Temple, Kolar, 1807 (WD1064, f.8)

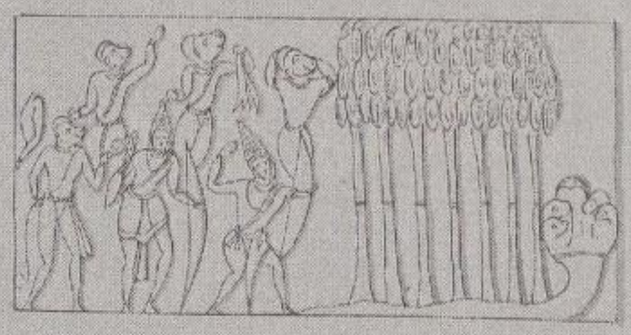
Mackenzie also wrote about Halebid in his 'List of Remarkable Places' in Mysore, identifying it as one of Mysore's eight historically important former capitals, referring to it by its old name of Dvarasamudram.[15]

Mackenzie collected 15 drawings of individual sculptures that adorn the exteriors of the Hoysalesvara and the Kedaresvara temples at Halebid.[16] These were drawn in April 1805 and July 1806, indicating that Mackenzie's survey assistants went there at least twice during the Mysore Survey. The stellate plan of the Hoysalesvara Temple, and its unique double vimana mean that the temple's outer walls, particularly on its west side, are covered in protruding, triangular segments. These protrusions increase the surface area of the outer walls, providing bountiful space for sculptures to decorate the exterior. It is difficult to say what criteria were used to select which sculptures to draw, but Mackenzie's draftsmen focused on drawing about a dozen of the sculptures from the Hoysalesvara Temple's west side. One of these drawings shows a figure of Bhadra Kali (Fig. 4.14), while another shows a woman or tree spirit reclining against a tree (Fig. 4.15) also on

Badra-Calee at Halla-Bede 28th April 1805 a

Byro-deo b

at Halla-Bede 28 April 1805



Rama shoots his Banem thro the Septatalem or 7 Palmyra Trees

at Halla-Bede 28th April 1805. c

Fig. 4.14 Three sculptures from Halebid. The top drawing shows a dancing Kali on the west side of the Hoysalesvara Temple, 28 April 1805. The other two drawings were prepared on the same date (WD1064, f.55)

the west side of the temple. A third drawing shows three pieces of sculpture that appear in a row on the west side of the temple, between the outer walls of the two sanctums (Fig. 4.16). It is not clear why drawings were only taken of sculptures on the west side of the Hoysalesvara Temple, but the reason for this could be as varied as locals specifying that these were the most important sculptures, or the draftsmen preferring to draw in the morning, on the shady side of the temple.

Mackenzie's investigations at Halebid began in 1805, but were predated by a survey by his colleague, Francis Buchanan (1762–1829). In 1801 Buchanan gathered the following account of Halebid, which he published in his book in 1807.[17]

> Hullybedu, at present, is a small mud fort, with a suburb (Petta) containing about eighty houses, and abounding with beggars. It stands on the side of a large Tank, that waters a great deal of fine rice ground, much of which is planted with sugar cane, and some with palm gardens. This Tank was formerly the centre of a great city, which was called Dorasamudra, and was the residence of several Belalla Rayas, who once reigned over a great part of the peninsula of India. According to the natives, the walls of this city may be traced, extending three cosses in circumference; and the site of the palace is shown, and is readily distinguishable by having been placed in an inner fort, or citadel.[18]

Regarding the condition of the Hoysalesvara Temple, Buchanan says that it 'has long been without a Pujari, or public worship, and has gone so far to decay that it would be repaired with great difficulty. This is a pity, as it much exceeds any Hindu building that I have elsewhere seen'.[19] Buchanan and Mackenzie knew each other during the Mysore Survey, so it is likely that Mackenzie was first told about the site by Buchanan.

The map of Halebid town was made in early July 1806 and shows how the structures in the town were laid out at the time of Mackenzie's and Buchanan's investigations (Map 4.1). It shows that in 1806 the remains of a wall surrounded Halebid and all the temples that are associated with the site today, stood inside the wall, alongside the remains of a fortified palace compound. This plan is extremely important because it shows the location of structures at Halebid that have long since disappeared, such as the remains of the town wall and the palace. At its widest points, the wall that surrounded Halebid stretched roughly 220 metres from north to south and about 200 metres from east to west. The Hoysalesvara Temple was at the east side of the walled town, and on the outer side of the east wall there was a large tank. The fortified palace compound was located at the north end of the walled town. The plan of the Hoysalesvara Temple (Fig. 4.17) shows that in the early nineteenth century it was in the same condition as it is today. There is an elaborate key along the lower edge of the plan that indicates the location of staircases, gateways, platforms, corridors, and the two sanctums. Solid stone areas are coloured in a blue-grey wash to indicate that 'the whole [is] built of dark blue stone admitting of a beautiful polish'.[20] Unlike the plan of Halebid town, the temple plan is not dated.

Another Hoysala style temple that was carefully documented through line drawings was the twelfth century Amritesvara Temple at Amritpur, 70 kilometres to the north of Halebid (Fig. 4.18). In 1805 an extensive number of drawings were taken of this east facing Siva Temple. Although it is much smaller than the Hoysalesvara Temple, the sculptural programme of the Amritesvara Temple makes it unique. In total, 22 folios of drawings of this temple were bound into Mackenzie's album of 'Original Drawings of Hindoo Sculptures'.[21] The outside of this east-

Figures in the Ancient Pagoda

of Kait-Iswar

at HALLA-BEDE

Mythology

Figures Sculptur

Fig. 4.15 Drawing of four sculptures at Halebid, 1 July 1806. The first is on the Kedaresvara Temple and the other three are on the west side of the Hoysalesvara Temple. One of these, a woman reclining against a tree, is found at a join between the Hoysalesvara Temple's two sanctums (WD1064, f.56)

the Walls of the Great Pagoda of Ouncel-Iswar

at HALLA-BEDE

1st July 1806

Baman Avatar

Mythology

Figures Sculptured on the Walls of the Great Pag

at HALLA-BEDE

5 Feet 9 Inches

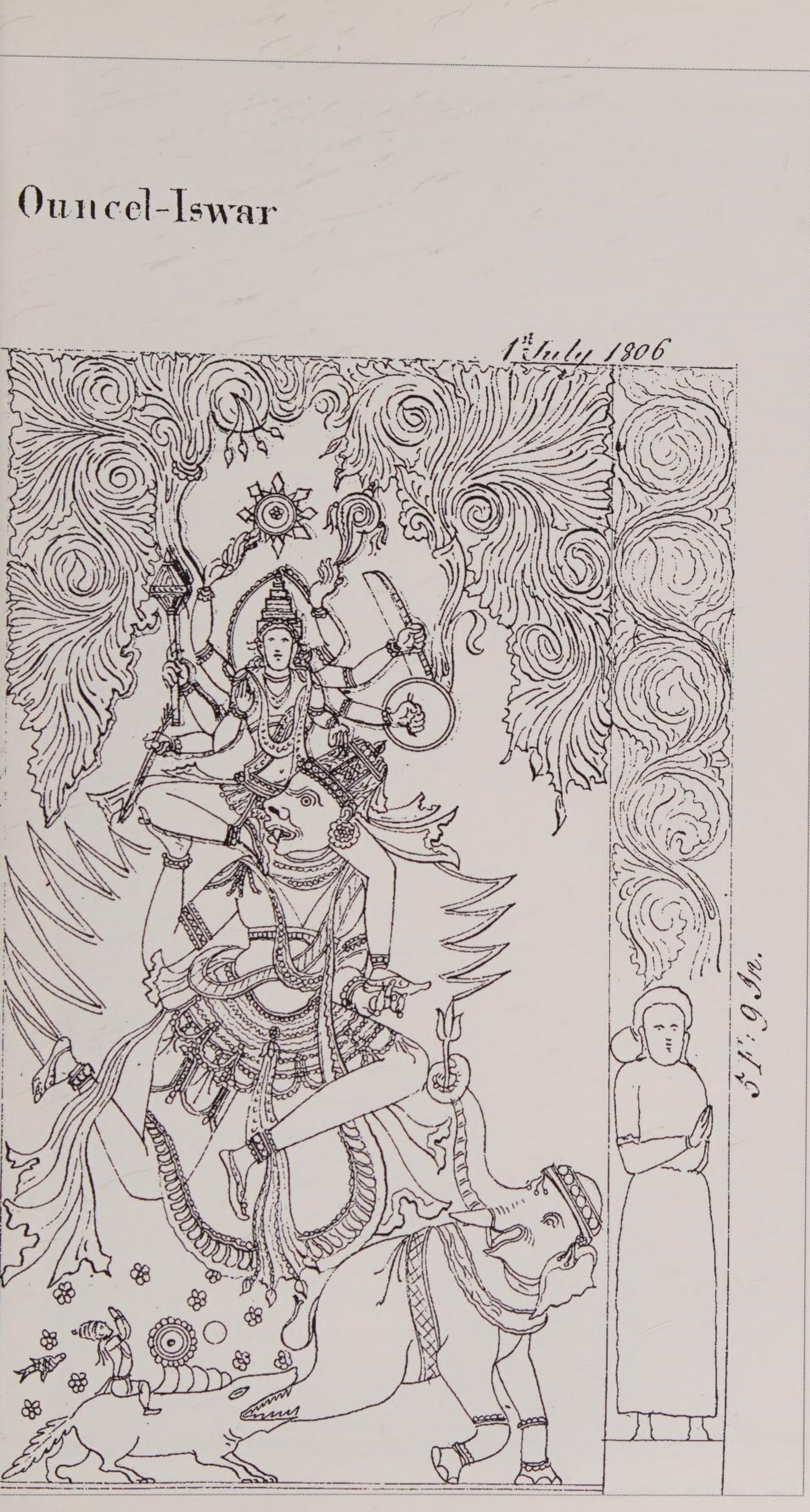
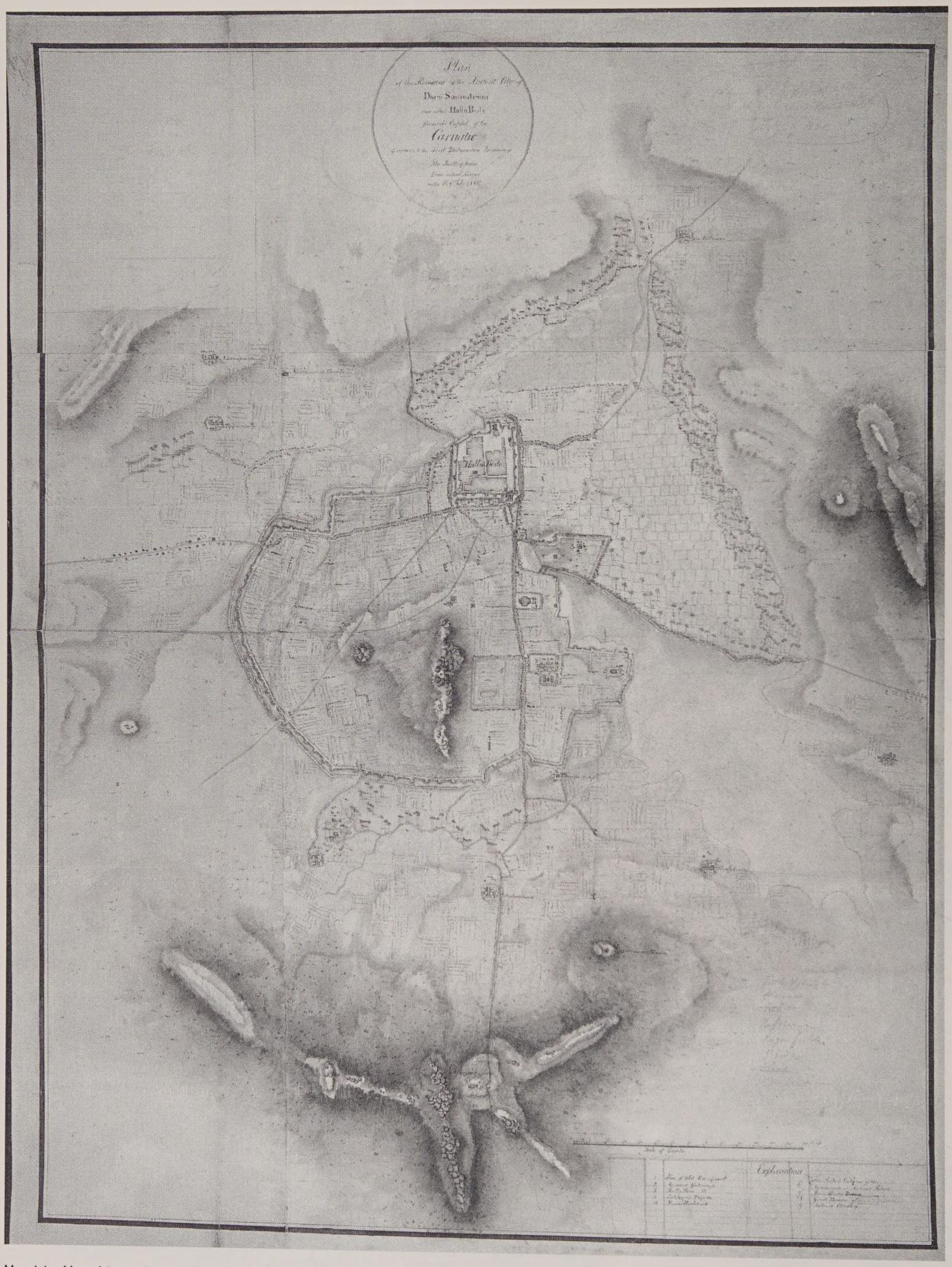


Fig. 4.16 Drawing of three sculptures on the west side of the Hoysalesvara Temple at Halebid, 1 July 1806 (WD1064, f.58)



Map 4.1 Map of the ancient remains of Halebid Town, 2 July 1806 (WD2630)

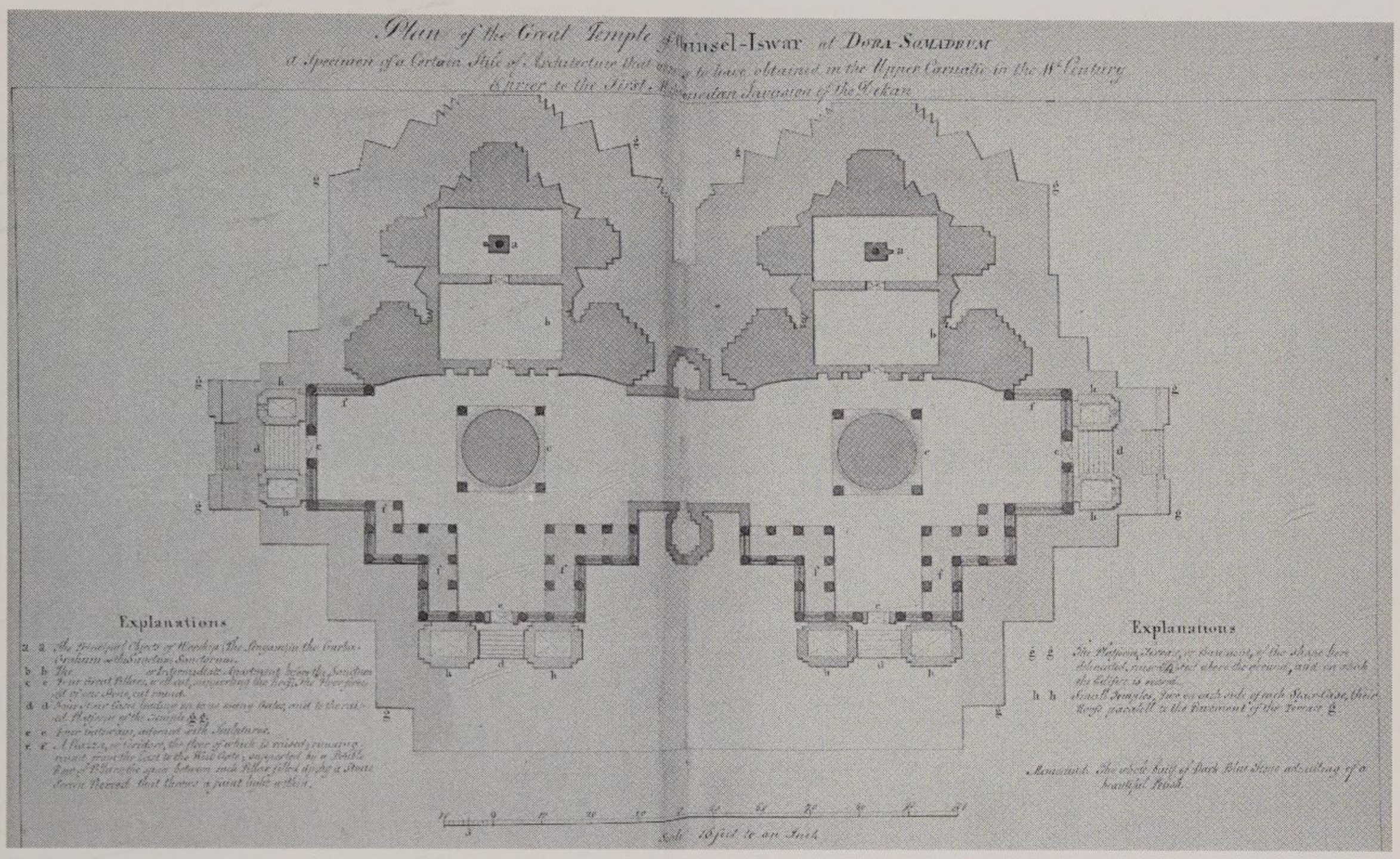

Plan of the Great Temple Hunsel-Iswar at Dora-Samadrum
a Specimen of a Certain Style of Architecture that appears to have obtained in the Upper Carnatic in the 11th Century
& prior to the first Mahomedan Invasion of the Deccan
Explanations
a a The Principal Doors of Worship in the Temple in the Centre Compartment with Subordinate Sanctuaries.
b b The Intermediate Apartments between the Sanctuaries
c c Four Great Pillars, of Black Granite, supporting the Roofs the Floor above of the same Stone, cut smooth.
d d Doors, four Guard Rooms for the many Poles used in the Festival Processions of the Temple.
e e Four Portico's, adorned with Sculptures.
f f A Piazza, or Corridore, the Floor of which is raised considerably above the Level of the Court, supported by a Double Row of Pillars the space between each Pillar filled up by a Stone Screen Pierced that Carries a faint light within.
g g The Outward Terrace, or Corridore, of the Shape here delineated, raised 8 Feet above the ground, and on which the Temple is erected.
h h Small Temples, Two on each side of each Door of the Third Range, parallel to the Basement of the Terrace g g.
Remarks. The whole Range of Black Polar Stone Pillars is of a beautiful Polish.

Fig. 4.17 Plan of the Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid (WD1064, ff.9-10)

facing temple is sculpted with narrative friezes depicting Vaishnava epics. The friezes illustrate key stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the *Bhagavata Purana*. On the north side of the temple the band of narrative carvings is read from right to left, beginning with the *Bhagavata Purana* and followed by the Mahabharata. On the south side of the temple the Ramayana is the subject of the narrative friezes and, unlike the north side of the temple, it is read from left to right. In doing so, the narratives on either side of the temple begin at the place closest to the temple's sanctum and run eastward, finishing at the temple's main east-facing entrance. The sequence in which the narrative sculptures are read is therefore determined by the temple's geography, and not by other narrative conventions such as the writing of scripts from left to right. The stories begin at the point closest to the sanctum and end at the place closest to the temple's entrance. The recounting of the stories carved into the sides of the temple porch preceded the pilgrim's entry through the temple's main entrance.[22]

There is a title page before the 22 sheets of drawings of the Vaishnava narrative carvings surrounding the Amritesvara Temple's entrance *mandapam* which describes the drawings as 'Hindoo Antiquities. Sculptures at Amurtapoor illustrative of the mythology and history of the Ramayan and other Hindoo poems, 1805'.[23] Most of the drawings show the sequential run of the narrative sculptures, so that one can get a feel of their linear sequence. There are also a few drawings at the end of the sequence giving details of particular scenes from the Ramayana accompanied by notes describing the actions they portray.

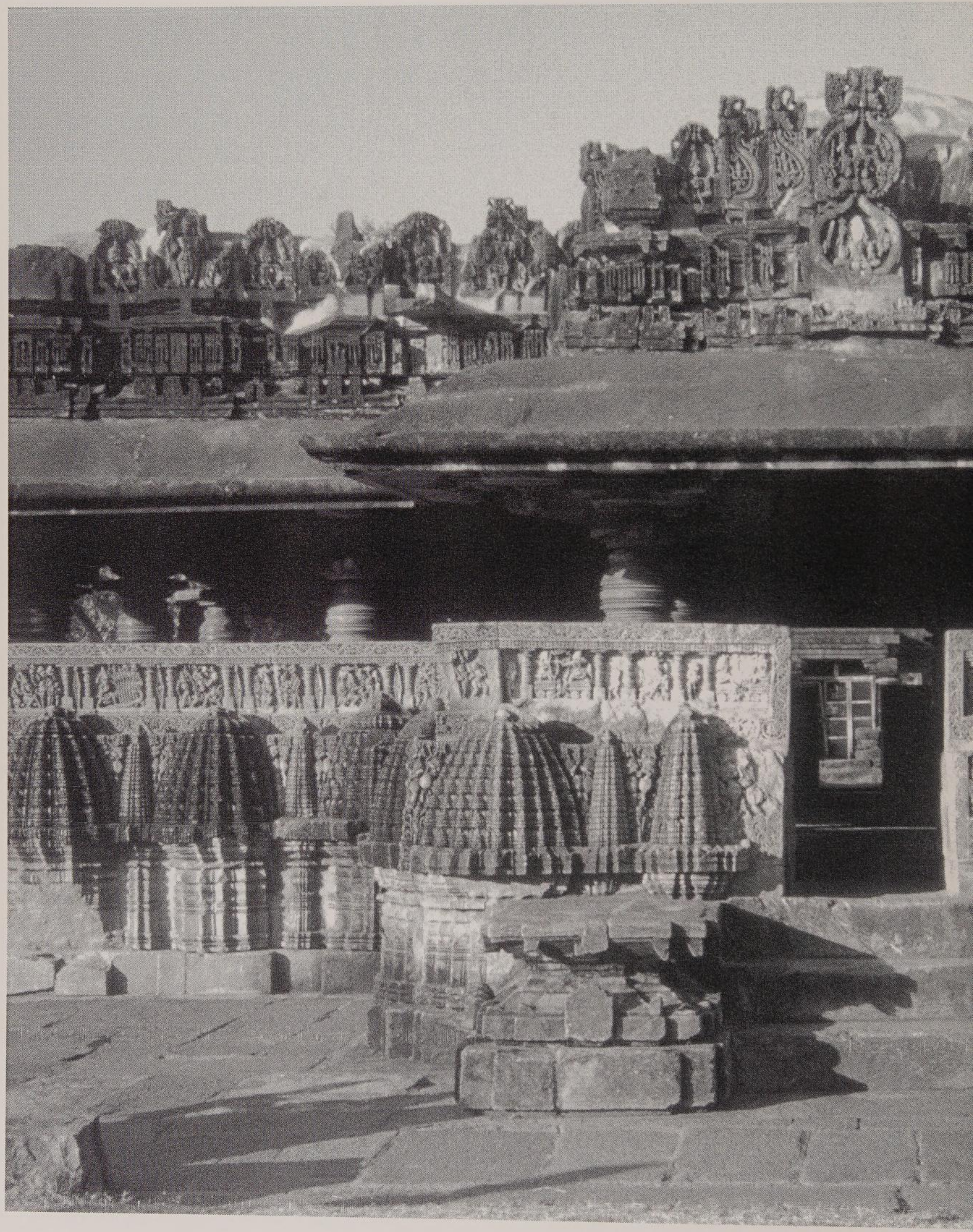


Fig. 4.18 The east-facing entrance porch of the Amritesvara Temple, Amritpur (photograph by the author)

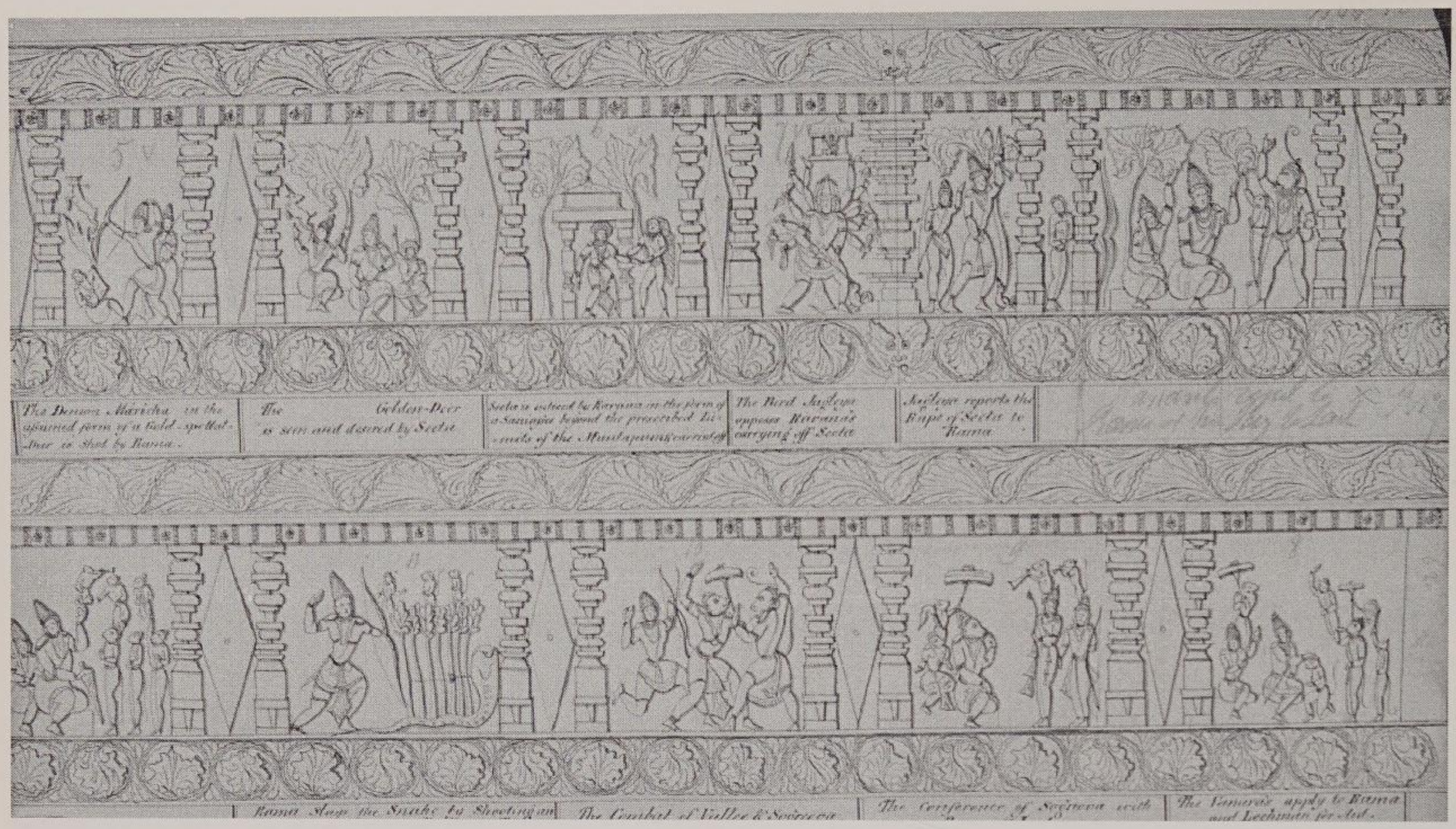

The Demon Maricha in the
assumed form of a Gold-spotted
Deer is shot by Rama.
The Golden-Deer
is seen and desired by Seeta
Seeta is enticed by Ravana in the form of
a Sannyasi beyond the prescribed Li-
-mits of the Parnasala Cottage
The Bird Jatayu
opposes Ravana &
carrying off Seeta
Jatayu reports the
Rape of Seeta to
Rama

Fig. 4.19 Drawing of the Ramayana narrative carved into the south side of the Amritesvara Temple, showing Sita's kidnap and the battle between Bali and Sugriva, 1805 (WD1064, f.82)

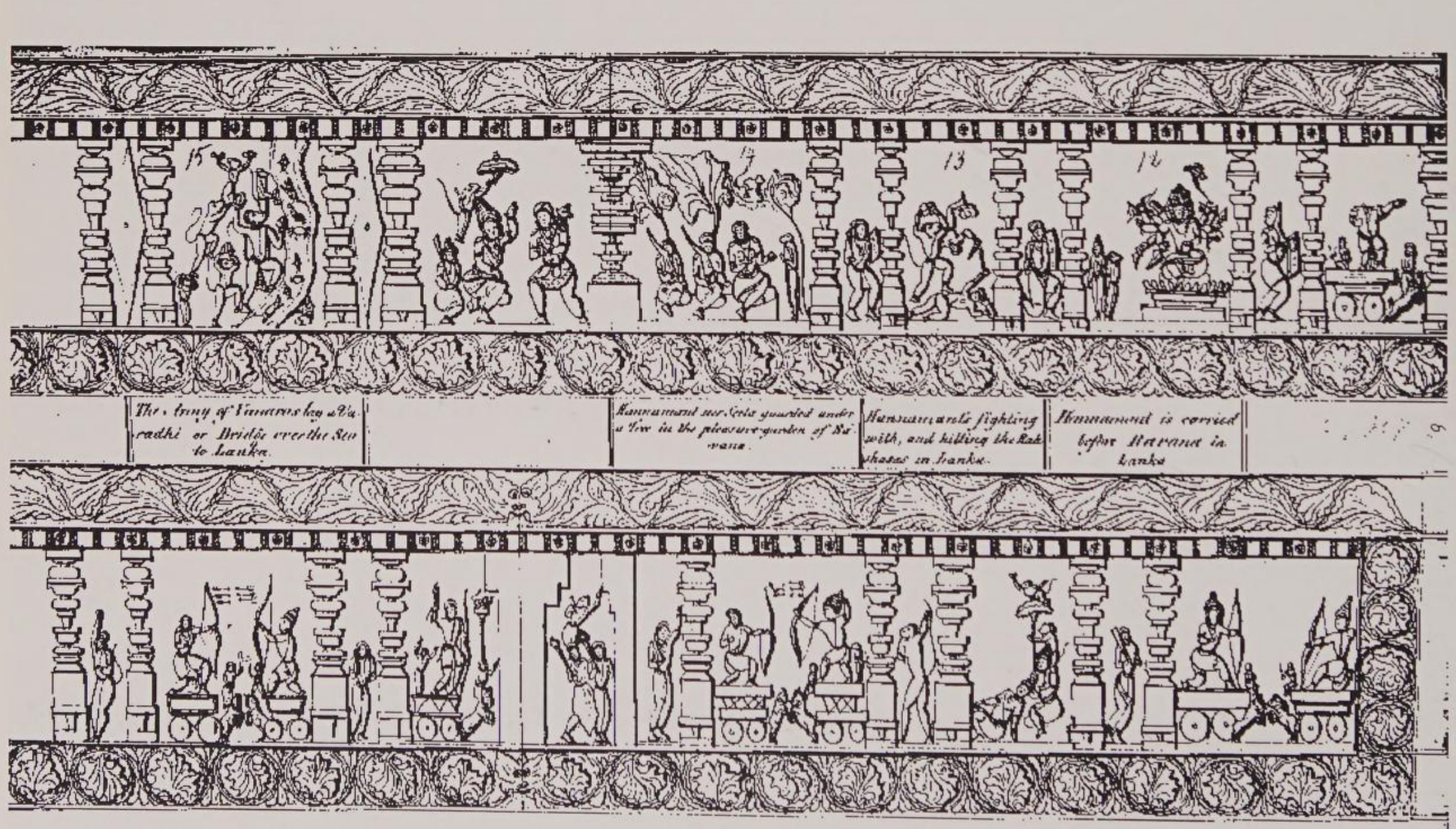


Fig. 4.20 Drawing of the next section of the Ramayana narrative on the Amritesvara Temple's south side, showing Hanuman's journey to Lanka and his capture by Ravana, 1805 (WD1064, f.81)

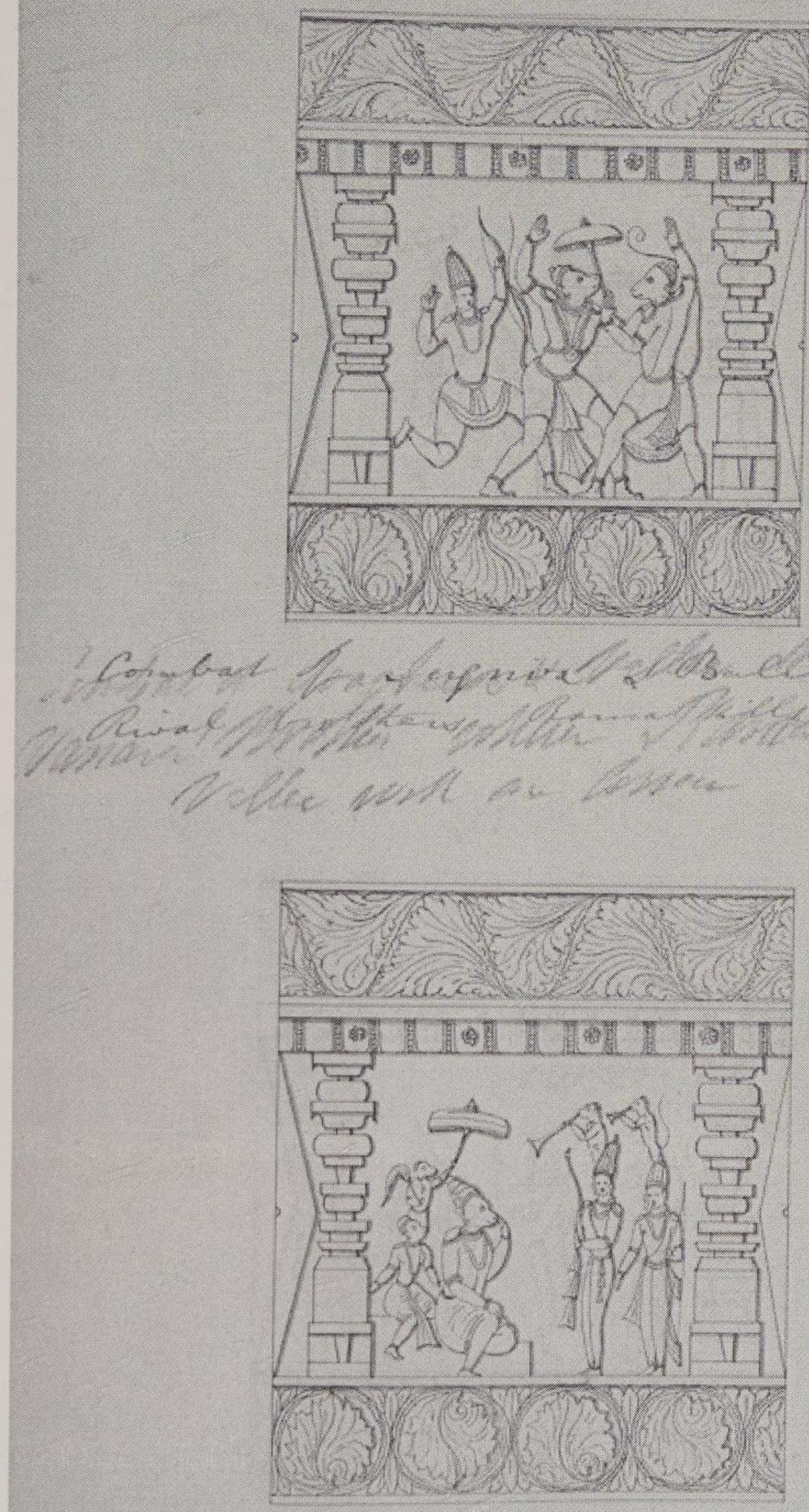


Fig. 4.21 Detail of two carvings on the Amritesvara Temple's south side showing the combat of Bali and Sugriva, and Rama and Lakshmana meeting Sugriva, 1805 (WD1064, f.89)

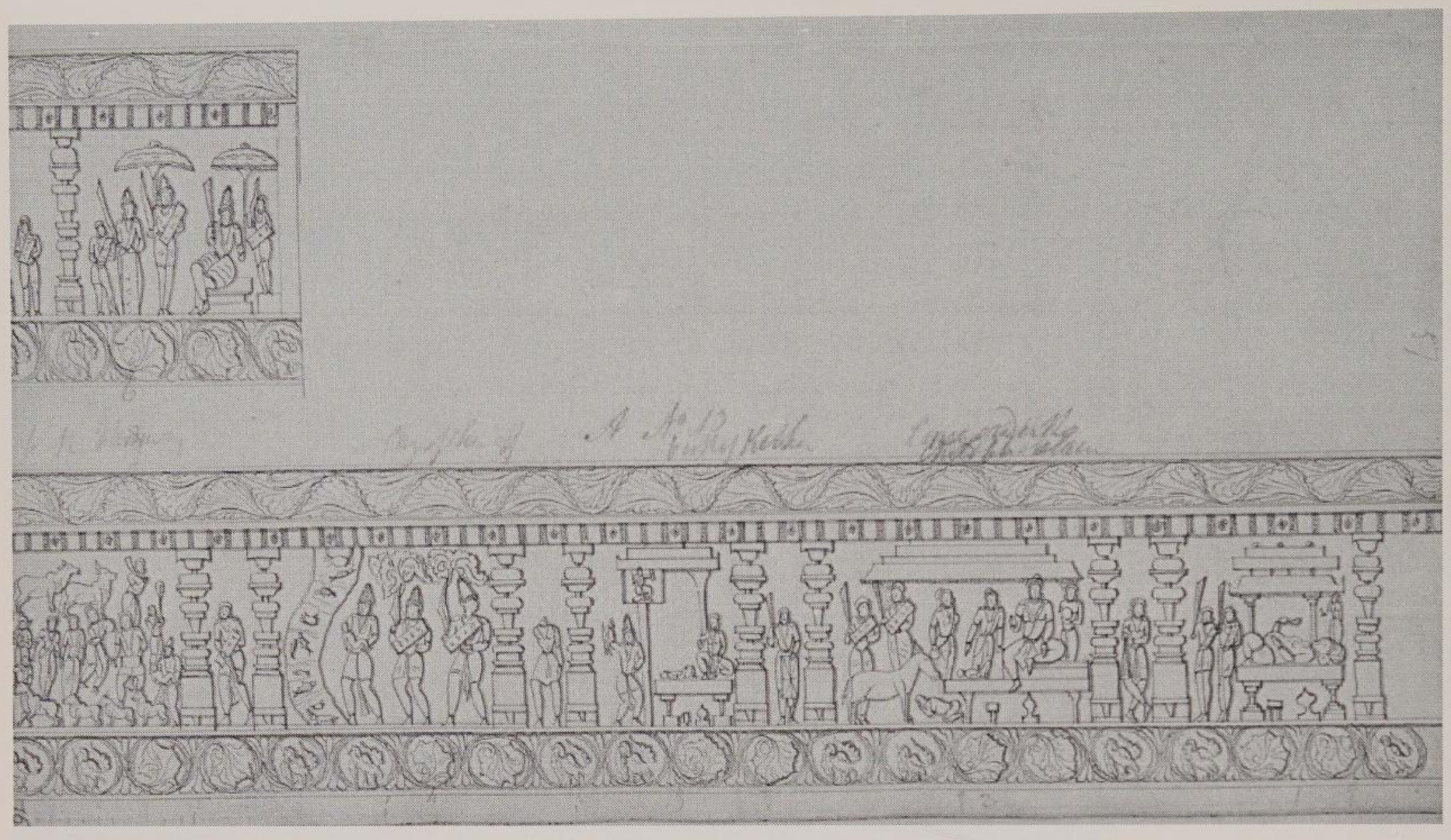


Fig. 4.22 Drawing of the *Bhagavata Purana* narrative carved on the north side of the Amritesvara Temple, showing Krishna as a newborn being carried across the river to the cowherders, 1805 (WD1064, f.76)

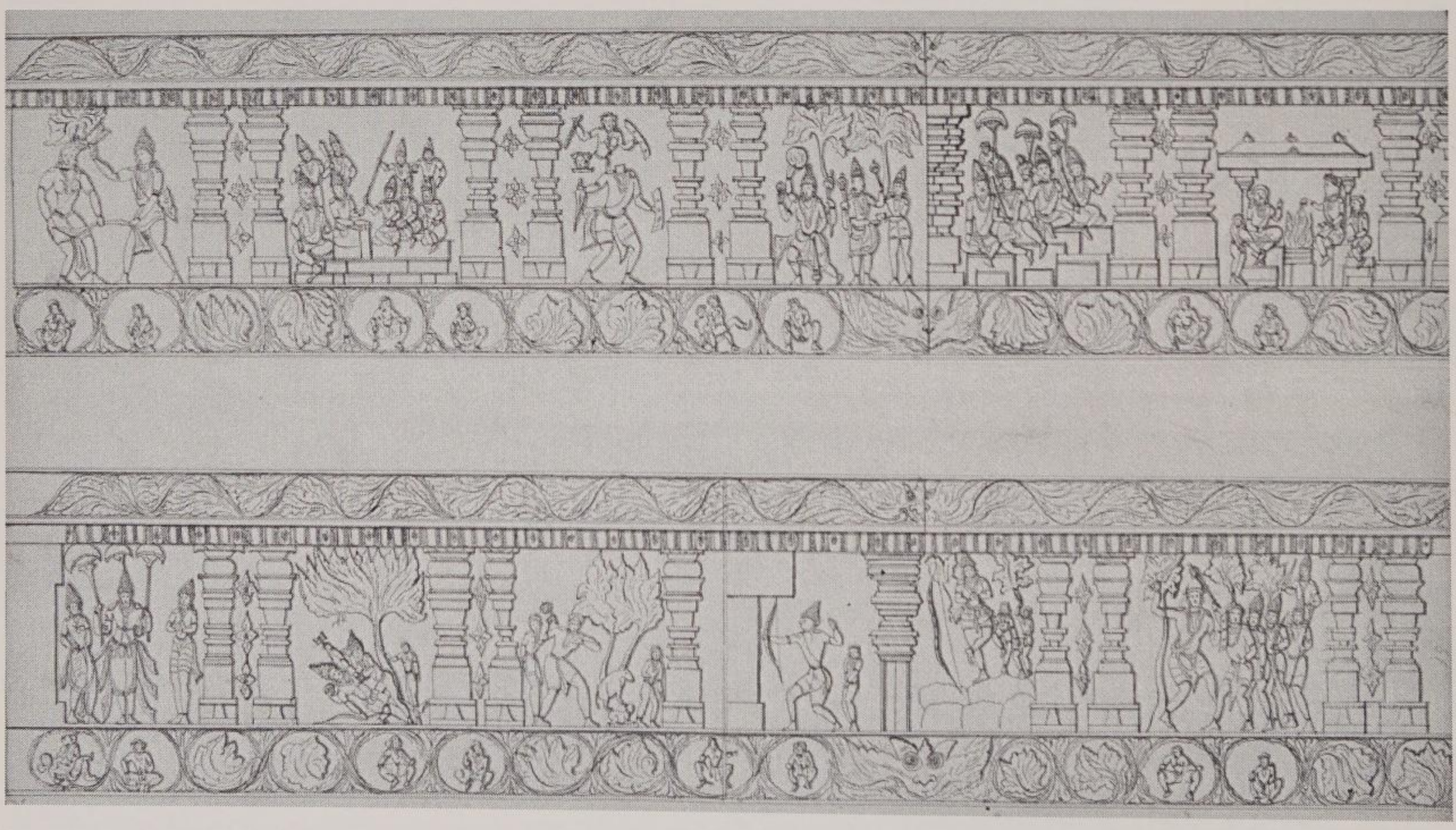


Fig. 4.23 Drawing of the Mahabharata narrative carved on the north side of the Amritesvara Temple, showing the game of dice between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, 1805 (WD1064, f.70)

Of the 22 sheets of drawings showing the Amritesvara Temple's sculptural programme, 15 show the Ramayana narrative on the south side of the temple. Eight sheets give detailed drawings of particular sculptures (see Fig. 4.21) while the other seven sheets run through the entire Ramayana narrative.[24] Because the pilgrim faces north to examine the south side of the temple to look at these carvings, and because the narrative runs from the west side to the east side of the porch, the Ramayana narrative is read from left to right (Figs 4.19, and 4.20). The sheets of drawings, however, were placed into the album in backward sequence. The other eight sheets of Ramayana drawings are detailed sketches of specific scenes. There are 15 such drawings on these eight sheets.[25] Most of them are numbered and the numbering corresponds with a sheet of notes (Fig. 4.21).[26] For example, the two drawings on folio 89 are numbered 'No. 10' and '9'. According to the notes, these two drawings respectively show 'The combat of Vali and Sugriva' and 'The Conference of Sugriva with Rama and Lakshmana'. Just like the drawings of the narrative frieze, the ordering of these smaller drawings is back to front. Added to this, in the notes, there are 30 captions but there are only 15 corresponding drawings. Perhaps someone who was unfamiliar with the Ramayana, such as a Calcutta-based copyist from a Muslim background like Shaikh Abdullah, assembled the drawings into the album. This would explain why the drawings of the narrative carvings were assembled backwards.

There are seven sheets of drawings showing stories on the north side of the Amritesvara Temple. The narrative carvings on that side depict part of the Mahabharata[27] and the Krishna Lila stories in the *Bhagavata Purana*.[28] Beginning at the west side of the porch, closest to the sanctum, the narrative is read from right to left, beginning with the *Bhagavata Purana* (Fig. 4.22). The narrative begins with the birth of Krishna, showing his removal from the royal palace where he was born, being carried over to the humble village where he grew up. The Mahabharata story begins further along the north side of the temple porch and ends next to the east facing entrance to the temple (Fig. 4.23). The order of the sheets illustrating the sequence of sculptures on the temple's north side is backwards, just like it is for the sheets illustrating the Ramayana narrative on the south side. There are a few frames missing from the drawings of the *Bhagavata Purana* frieze. Perhaps one folio from the series was lost, explaining this small gap in an otherwise complete record of the Amritesvara Temple's narrative carvings.

Although it appears that Mackenzie and his assistants did not gather any written accounts at Amritpur, the Mackenzie Collection does hold numerous indigenous accounts of Hindu epics such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.[29] Most significantly, Mackenzie commissioned an English translation of the Ramayana in two volumes titled 'The Ramayyun. An ancient Hindoo Epic Poem composed by Valmeek rendered from the Sanscrit by Mootamara, a native of Madras, for the information of the Honourable Sir Thomas A. Strange'.[30] Mackenzie and his European colleagues were obviously interested in Hindu epics, so Mackenzie and Strange commissioned Indian translators to work these texts into English. Mackenzie's interest in the Amritesvara Temple no doubt connects with his interest in the legends represented in the sculptures. Perhaps copies of the Amritesvara Temple's narrative carvings were also distributed to Mackenzie's European colleagues.

Thomas Strange was also the recipient of an album of line drawings by Tamil artists representing temples and temple sculpture. These drawings are accompanied by descriptions

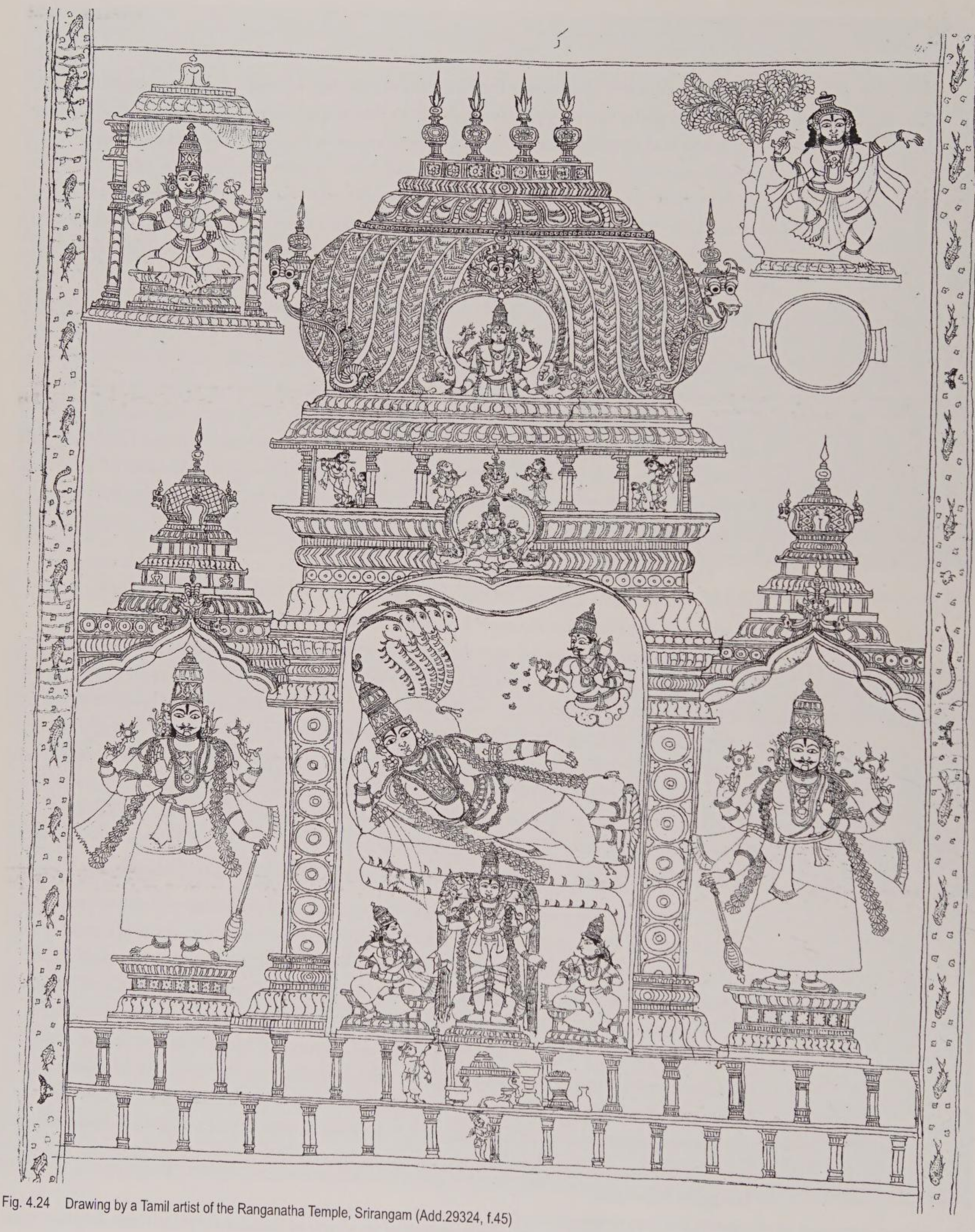


Fig. 4.24 Drawing by a Tamil artist of the Ranganatha Temple, Srirangam (Add.29324, f.45)

Fig. 4.25 A painting on cloth by a Tamil artist *c.*1780s, copied from a temple painting at Madurai, showing Vishnu Narayana floating on the cosmic ocean (Add.15504)

in Tamil, thus identifying them as the work of Tamil artists. They are also stylistically similar to the Tamil style of painting.[31] For example, in the album given to Strange there is a picture of the Ranganatha Temple at Srirangam island, near Tiruchirappalli (Fig. 4.24). This image is immediately comparable with temple paintings by Tamil artists showing the same deity (Fig. 4.25). The line drawing and the painting are so similar that they could almost be seen as coloured and uncoloured versions of the same picture. This shows that Tamil artists represented temples such as the Ranganatha Temple at Srirangam using a set iconography, featuring the principal deity at the centre. This sort of formulaic iconography and heavy use of lines is commonly found in the paintings that decorate the interiors of Tamil temple complexes.[32]

Fig. 4.26 Watercolour view of the Rock Fort at Tiruchchirappalli, *c.* 1790, by a British military surveyor (WD635)

There are 10 line drawings by Tamil artists depicting temples in the album Mackenzie gave Thomas Strange.[33] Because such drawings represent a strong divergence from western survey techniques, it is significant that Mackenzie collected them.[34] The aim of these images is to reflect the concerns of devotees approaching a temple. They present frontal views of the most important elements of each temple in a single composition, and show the size of these elements, not according to scale, but according to their importance to a devotee. Extreme attention is given to representing the cardinal directions and the location of significant monuments surrounding each temple.

There are examples in the Mackenzie Collection where two pictures of the same place, one by a western artist and the other by an Indian artist, can be contrasted. One such example is the Rock Fort at Tiruchchirappalli. The drawing by the Indian artist is from the manuscript Mackenzie gave Strange, and the other is a topographical view by an anonymous surveyor made around 1790.[35] The British drawing gives a view of the northwest face of the Rock Fort

(Fig. 4.26). As expected in the western-style view, the Rock Fort is viewed as it would appear to a person standing at street level. The highest point of the fort is the location of a Vinayaka Temple. It is clearly visible at the summit of the rocky outcrop atop the Rock Fort. To reach the Vinayaka Temple, devotees must climb 437 steps. To the right of the temple, set into the side of this rocky outcrop, there is the rectangular stone structure of the Tayumanasvami Temple. The roof of the temple's central sanctum can be seen slightly protruding above the stone walls.

The picture of the Rock Fort by the Tamil artist shows the Vinayaka Temple and the Tayumanasvami Temple as well, but uses the multiple point perspective, so all the key structures inside the temple compound can be viewed simultaneously (Fig. 4.27). The picture shows all the shrines within the rectangular stone wall of the Tayumanasvami Temple. The largest shrine in the picture is the one housing the Siva (Tayumanasvami) linga, and the second largest one houses his consort. To stress the importance of these two shrines, brahmins are shown standing next to each of them, holding camphor flames before the images. A smaller shrine to Siva Nataraja is also depicted, but on a smaller scale, to show that it is less important than those of

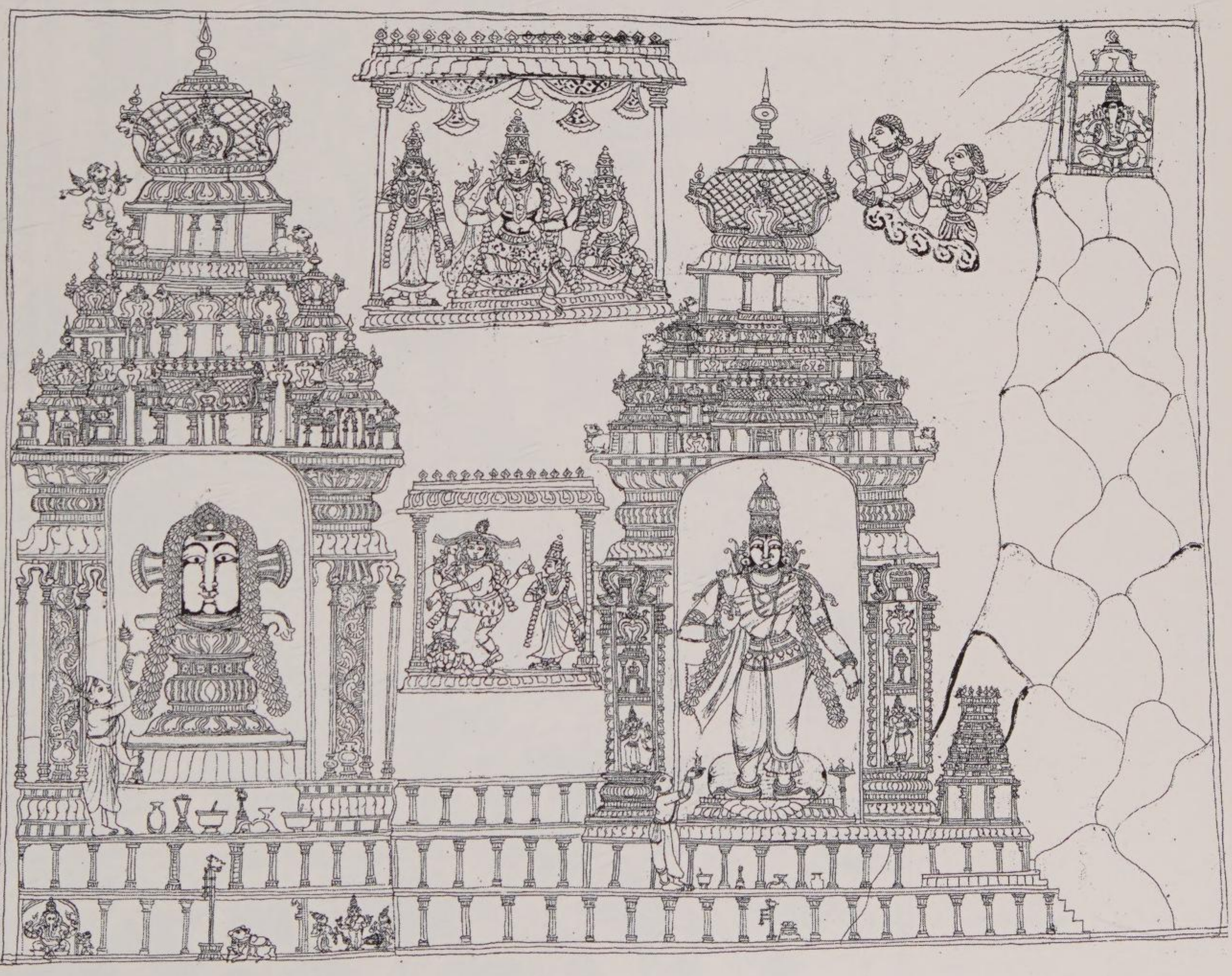


Fig. 4.27 Drawing of the Rock Fort at Tirucchirappalli by a Tamil artist (Add.29324, f.39)

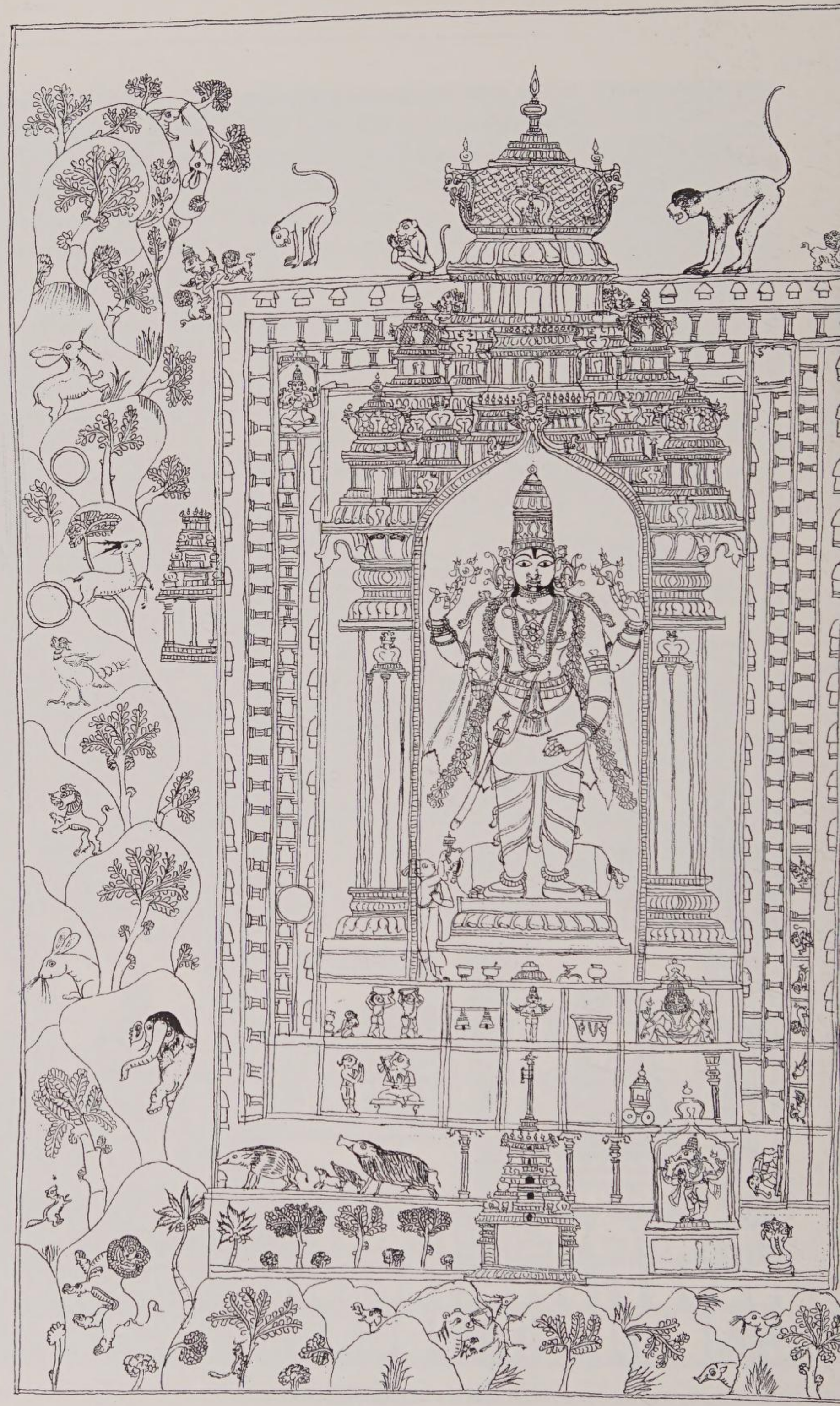


Fig. 4.28 Drawing of Tirumalai and the Sri Venkatesvara Temple by a Tamil artist (Add.29324, f.54)

Dimensions

North to South

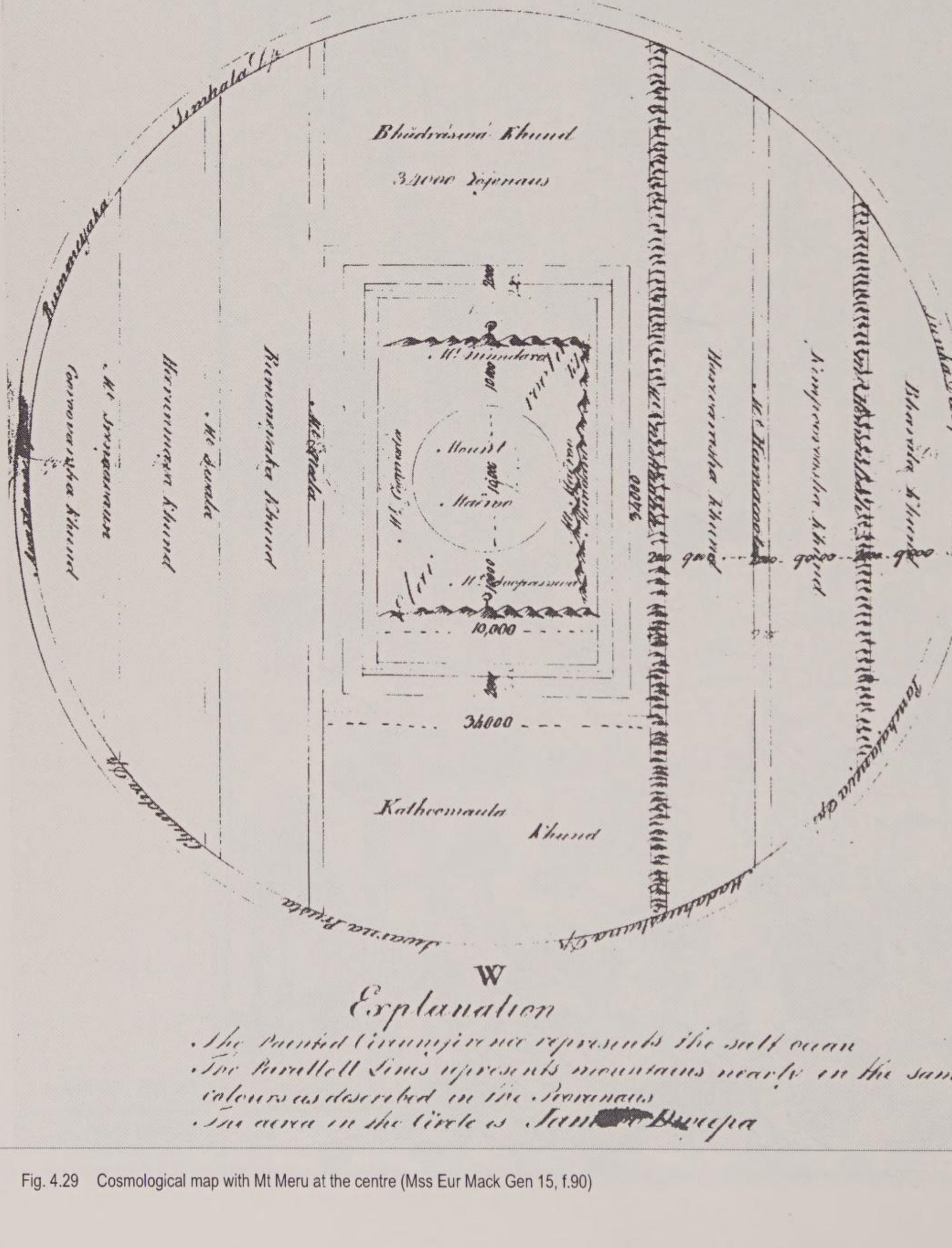
Yoseenas

Bharata Khd	9000	Isila Purvt	2000
Hemata Parvata	2000	Kumuneyaka Khd	9000
Kimpoorooshu Khd	9000	Sweta Ppt or Mt	2000
Kainnaeeta Purvt	2000	Kurummaya Khd	9000
Harivarsha Khd	9000	Sringaweeru Purvt	2000
Nishadha Purvt	2000	Coorooverska Khd	9000
Elavrecta Khd	34,000	Total	100,0

East & West

Bhadrasura Khd	33000
Elavrecta Khd	34,000
Kathoomaula Khd	33,000
Total	100,000

E


Bhadrasura Khund
34000 Yojanas
Sumbala Pt
Ramanyaka
Bharata Khund
Hemata Purvata
Harivarsha Khund
Kimpoorooshu Khund
Mt Sweta
Mt Nishadha
Coorooverska Khund
Mt Meru
Mt Nilawanta
Mt Gandha
Mt Malyawanta
Mt Kailasa
Mt Himadree
Mt Kamnaeeta
Mt Sringawanta
Mt Nishadha
Mt Gandhamadana
Mt Kailasa
Mt Nila
Mt Swetha
Mt Sringawanta
Mt Himadree
Mt Malyawanta
Mt Nishadha
Mt Hemakoota
Mt Himakoota

Tayumanasvami and his consort. The pillared arcades within the building are represented below. To the right of the composition there is a rocky outcrop with the Vinayaka shrine at the top. While the shrine is the most visible exterior element of the Rock Fort, and is obviously important to help identify and locate the Tayumanasvami Temple, it is still represented as being quite small to reflect Vinayaka's ancillary role alongside Siva and his consort. These south Indian pictures of temple sites include elements that help locate the temple within an identifiable geographical setting, but do not make use of western conventions such as scale and single point perspective, which would have been imperative to a drawing prepared by a surveyor.

There is also a drawing by a Tamil artist showing the Sri Venkatesvara Temple at Tirupati and the mountain top shrines at Tirumalai (Fig. 4.28). It differs from the other drawings by Tamil artists in this set because instead of showing the walls and towers of a temple compound, it shows the hilly landscape surrounding the temple complete with wild animals peering through the jungle. Pilgrims are seen walking up and down the steep stairs leading to the temple. The picture gives a sense of the journey involved to reach the temple at the top of the hill; it successfully conveys the experience that a pilgrim goes through. There are no surveyors' drawings of Tirupati in the Mackenzie Collection. As non-Hindus, perhaps Mackenzie and his surveyors were not permitted to survey such a busy site. This would explain why he only collected information

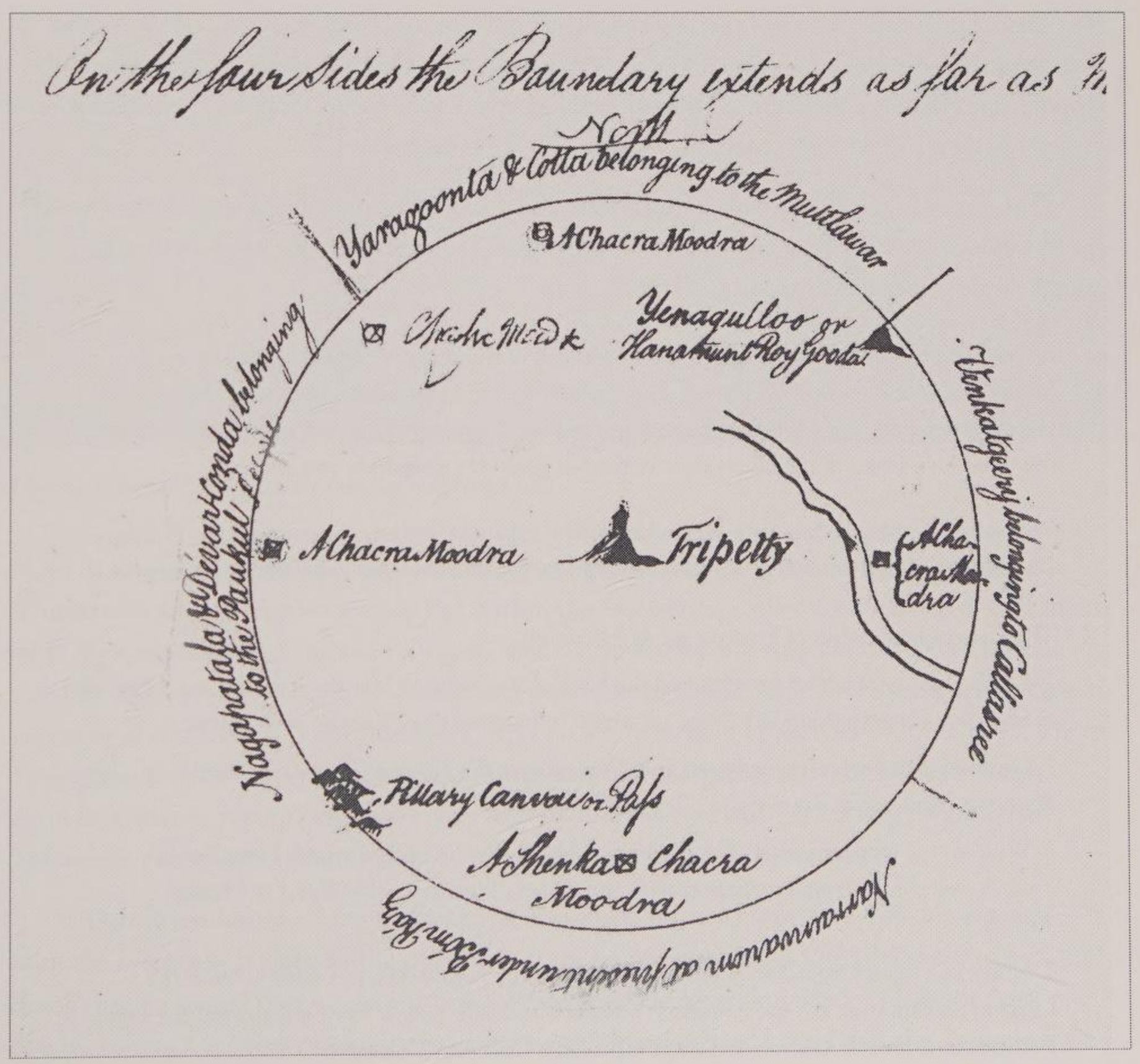


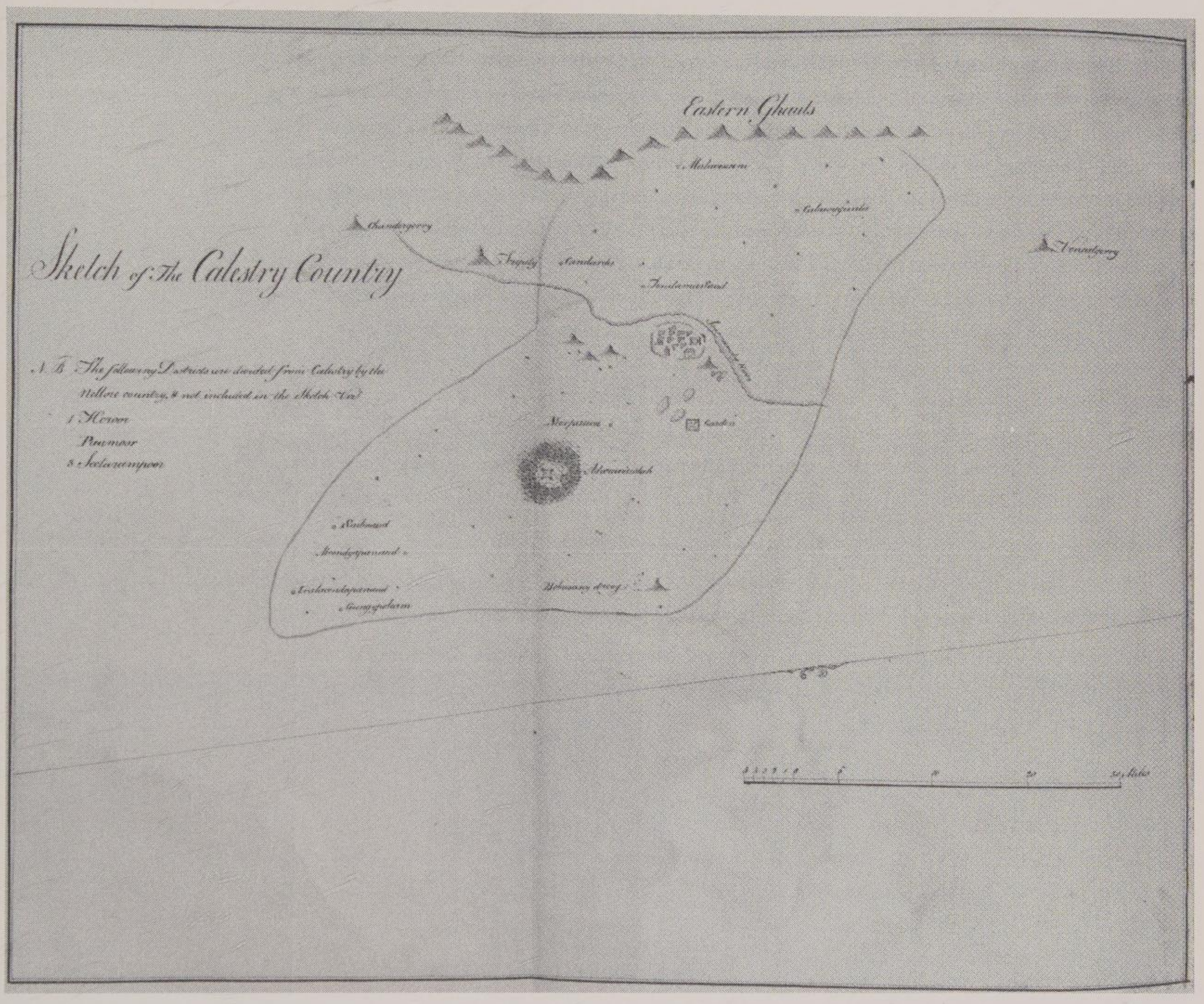
Fig. 4.30
Cosmological map with Tirupati at the centre (Mss Eur Mack Gen 16, f.476)

on Tirupati from indigenous sources. Mackenzie gathered several translations of historical accounts of Tirupati that trace its political control from the Vijayanagar kings of the sixteenth century till the eighteenth century under the Nawab of Arcot.[36] Other accounts relating to the function of the site as a place of worship are included in another manuscript. Here one finds the 1804 translation of the Stala Puranam of Sri Vekantesvara of Tirupati by Subha Rao, giving an account of the 'Different Foreign Nations, Tribes and People who annually resort to Tripetty on pilgrimage', along with an account of the hills and roads at Tirupati, an account of the buildings at the site, and a description of the ceremonies that take place inside the temple of Sri Vekantesvara.[37] Mackenzie even collected an account prepared by the British Collector at Chittoor on the Tirupati temple's main sources of revenue.[38] Such a huge collection of data on Tirupati, collected almost entirely by Indians, shows that Mackenzie's research on temples was concerned with more than just western style landscapes and measured drawings of sculptures.

Indian maps of territory often take the form of cosmological diagrams. For example, in a Mackenzie manuscript there is a drawing of the world with Mount Meru at the centre and various rings and lines surrounding it, representing geographical features such as mountain ranges and oceans (Fig. 4.29). A comparable map dating about 1803, showing Tirupati at the centre instead of Mount Meru, is found in another Mackenzie manuscript (Fig. 4.30). A circle is drawn around the mountain and at the fringes of this circle there are drawings of boundary stones called 'chacra moodras'. A mountain pass and a river are also indicated at the outer edge of the circle. Immediately outside the circle, four quarters are indicated which identify the names of the territories immediately surrounding Tirupati to the north, south, east, and west. The similarities between the diagram of Mount Meru and of Tirupati are remarkable.

This plan is taken from a *kyfeyat* (local history) that was translated and bound into the same Mackenzie manuscript as Subha Rao's accounts of Tirupati. The four areas surrounding Tirupati are described as follows in the kyfeyat.

> About 150 years ago, in the reign of the Rayels before the country was conquered by the Mencha or Mussulmans the Carnatic was divided out and boundaries were fixed, within which the revenues were settled then to be paid to the Raja Loke (or Kings) and within these limits the respective forces of the chiefs were to remain under their separate commands.
>
> Thereafter the Moguls having increased in power, began to conquer the country; the Polligars who were around the limits of Tripetty having also become powerful reduced these countries.
>
> The ancient boundaries of Tripetty are as follows viz.
>
> 1. On the East near Callahasree beyond the bank of the Soovarn Mookaree River near a Pagoda of Iswar was placed a Boundary Stone on which is inscribed the Chacrum of the Swamy.
>
> 2. On the South from Narrainvarum and West to near the Pillaree Canvai, is placed a Boundary Stone, with the Shenka Chacrum Moodra.
>
> 3. West of that stone, in an angle between the Hill of Devarconda, towards Naga Patala Tallook, are placed Boundary Stones with the Chacra Moodra in the Wood of Chamul Arjuna.
>
> 4. North of Tripetty from Yaragoonta, Yenagulloo, Hanoomund Raya-Gidda as far as the Cotta of Callahasree, was the boundary; but the Muttlawar people having destroyed the Petty Polligars took these countries and there is placed a Chacrum Moodra.[39]



Map 4.2 Map of territory to the east of Tirupati. 'Sketch of Calestry Country' (Mss Eur Mack Gen 9, f.82)

A set of survey maps showing the same four territories surrounding the cardinal directions of Tirupati is found in another manuscript within the Mackenzie Collection.[40] These maps connect with the cosmological diagram of Tirupati mentioned earlier, but they also make use of scale just like a survey map (Map 4.2). Mackenzie was interested in Indian, Arab, and ancient Greek accounts of territory, as is indicated in a letter he wrote to John Leyden in October 1810, where he suggests that by translating indigenous accounts of Indian geography, he hopes to 'clear up certain places, mountains, rivers with the aid of Hindoo works'.[41] This letter shows that Mackenzie considered Indian accounts of territory as relevant to his research.

During the Mysore Survey Mackenzie documented places that were difficult to reach with the intention of distributing the information he gathered to his Orientalist colleagues. By doing this, he hoped that his accounts would advance European knowledge of South Asia. He saw his role as a collector and distributor of raw information, and hoped that the dissemination

of his discoveries would lead to a better understanding of India's monuments, literature, and history. The line drawings of temples and sculpture considered here were only one facet of the information Mackenzie collected and distributed. As has been shown with his collections pertaining to Tirupati, he also collated lists and collected manuscripts and oral histories, some of which have been mentioned here regarding the line drawings. Through their connection with written accounts, and the meticulous labelling that helps identify the locations where they were gathered, the line drawings definitely express a desire on Mackenzie's part to transfer information about monuments from 'stone to paper'. The line drawings are labelled and clearly provide solid documentation of specific buildings and their sculptures. Unfortunately for Mackenzie, very little of this raw data was incorporated into the research of his colleagues and after his death his formidable collections were largely overlooked. In the early 1990s, mainly through Nicholas B. Dirks' seminal work, interest in the Mackenzie Collection was revived.[42] It has subsequently become one of the most recognized archival collections for researchers interested in the history and practice of gathering information during the early colonial period. However, recent research on the Mackenzie Collection has only considered a handful of manuscripts and a scant number of drawings.

Landscapes

As previously discussed, the topographical views in the Mackenzie Collection are often fair copies of original field sketches. Sometimes decades passed between the field drawing of a landscape and a fair copy watercolour production based on the drawing. The intention of the landscapes was to illustrate places visited during journeys by showing views and activities encountered while in the field. Inscriptions giving the location, date, and artist's name help us identify the subject matter of these landscapes. We know that Colin Mackenzie was familiar with the work of Thomas and William Daniell, the uncle and nephew team who published a 12-volume series of landscapes titled *Oriental Scenery* depicting their travels in India. One of the Mackenzie manuscripts contains a list of all the aquatints reproduced in the Daniells' magnum opus, suggesting that *Oriental Scenery* might have influenced Mackenzie's landscapes.[43]

The Mackenzie fair copy landscapes represented existing views at fixed points in time. They were distinct from the line drawings of temple sculpture. Some of the fair copy watercolours were meant to be viewed as a series. Others stand on their own and were not meant to connect with sequential accounts of specific journeys or surveys. These individual drawings were generally based on field sketches and were prepared long after the original sketches were made. Occasionally an original field sketch and the watercolour that was prepared from it both exist, giving us an opportunity to see how the original sketches were altered by the copyists. Although the extant field sketches are generally not signed, the fair copies are sometimes inscribed with both the name of the original field artist and the name of the copyist.

The drawing of the temple survey (see Plate 18) is a particularly enigmatic fair copy landscape. Because it has recently been exhibited, published, and discussed by four respected academics, it has come to represent the essence of Mackenzie's work in India. In 2001, Nicholas B. Dirks used this picture for the jacket of his book, *Castes of Mind*, and also as a point of discussion at the end of his chapter 5 'The Textualisation of Tradition'.[44] In 2003 the

same drawing was included in Maria Antonella Pelizzari's major exhibition, 'Traces of India: Photography, Architecture and the Politics of Representation'.[45] In the exhibition's catalogue, the picture is reproduced and discussed in an article written by Tapati Guha-Thakurta.[46] Finally, in Barbara and Thomas Metcalfe's *Concise History of India*, published in 2002, a detail of the same picture is reproduced in their chapter on the East India Company.[47] All these recent writings identify the picture of temple surveyors as visualizing the colonial compulsion to record a western, scientific understanding of India's history and culture. Further, Dirks argues that the drawing of the temple survey represents a broader agenda of using 'colonial technologies of rule', such as map surveys, to consolidate colonial conquest.[48]

For someone with a general knowledge of the early colonial period, the picture of the temple survey neatly illustrates the interpretation of early colonial history by Dirks, Pellizari, Guha-Thakurta, and the Metcalfes. However, none of these authors have investigated the circumstances behind the creation of this picture or of other Mackenzie pictures relating to temples. Whilst the picture of the temple survey will always be regarded as a fascinating document about early antiquarian research in India, it is a complete anomaly within the Mackenzie Collection. In the British Library there are over 1,700 Mackenzie drawings, several hundred of which represent temples. Of these, this picture is the only finished watercolour of a temple that is unlabelled. Considering that Mackenzie's frequently reiterated agenda during the

Fig. 4.31 Sketch of Karkala by Benjamin Swain Ward, May 1806 (WD783)

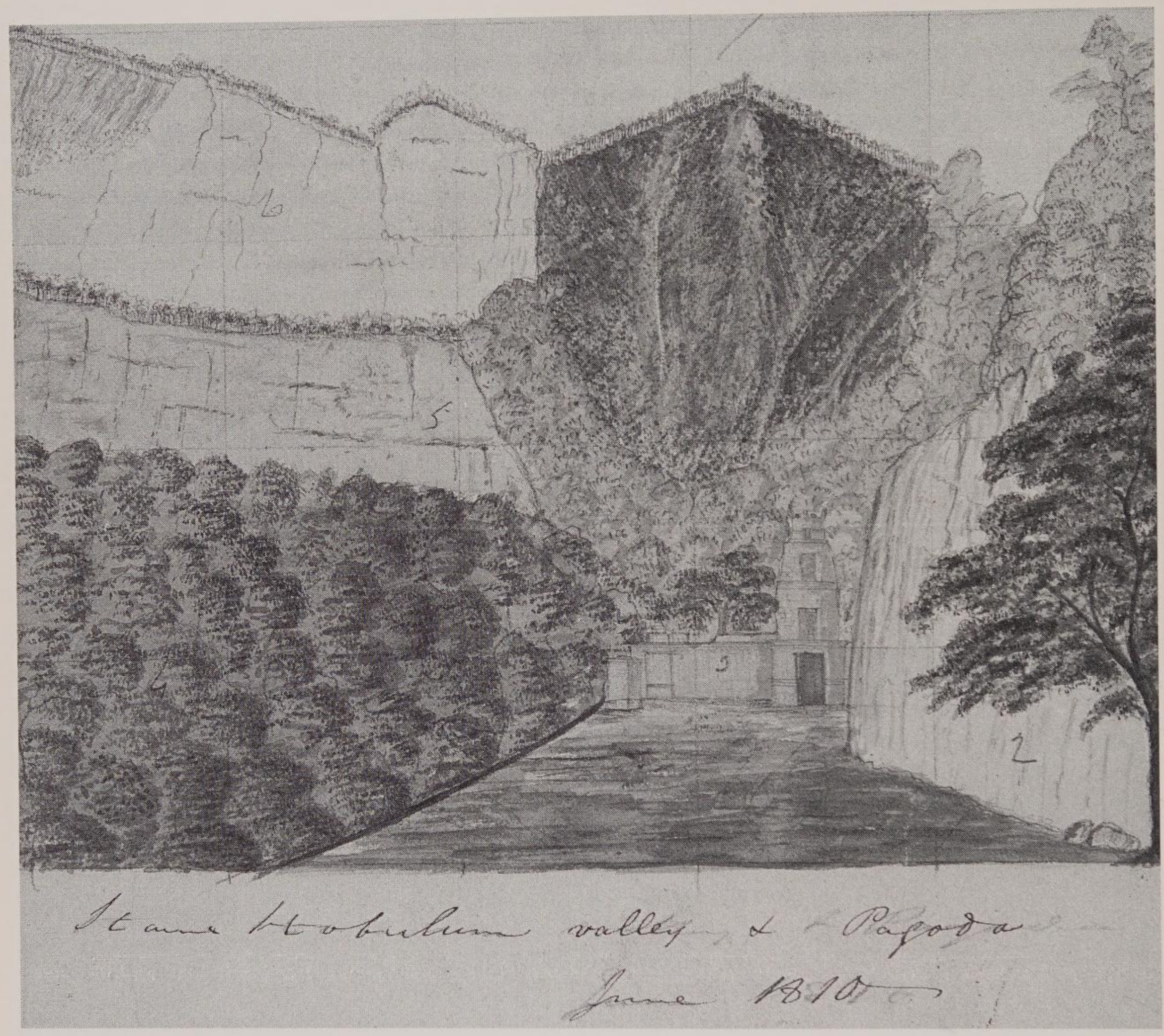


Fig. 4.32 Sketch of Ahobilam by Benjamin Swain Ward, June 1810 (WD780)

Mysore Survey was to gather and disseminate facts, the total absence of inscriptional clues on such a carefully worked watercolour is extremely peculiar.

To comprehend why this carefully worked yet completely unlabelled picture was made, one must look at other pictures in the Mackenzie Collection in search of clues that explain its uniqueness. There are two important fair copy landscapes in the Mackenzie Collection that depict views of the monolithic Jain hilltop sculpture of Gomatesvara at Karkala, near Mangalore in modern-day Karnataka. The original field sketch from which these watercolours were based has survived. The same view was also used as the background for Thomas Hickey's iconic portrait of Colin Mackenzie with his Indian assistants (see Plate 1). The original sketch, attributed to Benjamin Swain Ward (1786–1835), is dated May 1806 (Fig. 4.31). The two extant fair copies

of this sketch are at the British Library.[49] Only one of these fair copies is labelled, and it reads 'View of the Rock of Carcull and the first appearance of the Gigantic Statue of Gomut-Iswar on its summit. May 1806' (Plate 19). Although the fair copy is not signed, it was almost certainly painted by John Newman around 1816. In that same year Newman produced a signed fair copy of the other famous monolithic Jain statue of Gomatesvara in Mysore, at Sravana Belgola (Plate 20). The fair copy landscape of Sravana Belgola is labelled as a 'North View of the Hill of Sravana-Bellagoola, 17 August 1806, from an Original Sketch on the Mysore Survey in 1806, taken by Lieut Ward. J.G. Newman del. April 1816'.[50] It is painted in the same style as the fair copy of the hilltop sculpture of Gomatesvara at Karkala.

There are other topographical views in the Mackenzie Collection that link Benjamin Swain Ward's sketches with John Newman's fair copies. In particular, there are two drawings of the temple in the valley at Ahobilam in Andhra Pradesh. One of these drawings (Fig. 4.32) is possibly the original sketch dated 18 June 1810. Grid lines have been drawn over the sketch, and numbers indicate the colours to be used in the fair copy. The other drawing (Plate 21) is a fair copy based on the sketch, and is labelled 'View of the Pagoda and Valley of How Hobullum, June 1810. Drawn by J.G. Newman, 1816. 1810, taken by Lieut. Ward'.[51] We thus know conclusively that Newman made this fair copy in 1816, six years after Ward drew the original sketch. The two pictures of Ahobilam show the process by which these fair copies were created.

The majority of fair copies in the Mackenzie Collection were made between 1815 and 1821, and are based on field sketches drawn up to three decades earlier. For example, there is one field sketch signed by Mackenzie, dated 1784, that was prepared into a fair copy in around 1815 (see Fig. 4.1). The original drawing is an uncoloured pen-and-ink sketch. Hand-written notes indicate the colours to be used for particular objects, indicating that Mackenzie planned on using the sketch as a study for a watercolour at a later date. The main subject of the picture is a rocky outcrop with a fakir's house built on it. In the foreground of the picture the fakir who presumably lived in the house is seen alongside a European wearing a tailed frock coat and a large plumed hat. On their left is a sepoy wearing a 'sundial' style hat. The curious thing about this drawing is the way the artist responsible for the fair copy changed the costumes of the European and the sepoy (see Plate 3). In particular, the European in the finished watercolour no longer wears the eighteenth-century frock coat and plumed hat seen in the sketch. Instead, he wears a uniform consisting of black shoes, white pantaloons, a blue jacket, and a small black hat. Likewise, the uniform worn by the sepoy in the original sketch has been altered. By the early nineteenth century the distinctive 'sundial' hat was no longer part of the Indian sepoy uniform.[52] The artist who made the fair copy was presumably not familiar with that outdated style of uniform so he adjusted the headgear into what he interpreted as four sepoys standing in a row. The adjustments to the dress of the European and the sepoys occurred in spite of the careful instructions indicated on the original sketch. The cloud patterns in the watercolour follow those indicated on the field sketch, and the artist followed the colour instructions given in the sketch's pencilled notes. The alterations made to the uniforms of the European and the sepoy probably related to the artist's lack of familiarity with late eighteenth-century modes of dress. Judging by the style of these costumes in the fair copy, it was probably made after 1815.

Another fair copy showing a watercolour of a temple near Thanjavur was based on a field sketch taken by Mackenzie thirty-three years before the fair copy was created (Plate 22). The

label at the base of the finished watercolour says that Christian Ignatio copied it at Madras in 1817, and that it is based on a drawing made by Mackenzie in 1784. Christian Ignatio began working for Mackenzie on 25 May 25 1801,[53] and after the Mysore Survey he continued to work for Mackenzie as a copyist in Madras. In 1817, when Mackenzie moved to Calcutta, Ignatio stayed behind in Madras. In this way, many of the fair copies created after the Mysore Survey had ended, were actually based on drawings that were made in the eighteenth century, long before the Mysore Survey began. More than three decades had passed between the sketches and the creation of the fair copies, so the connection between the finished watercolours and the events they depicted were remote.

In many cases, the artists who painted the fair copies probably were not even born when the original field sketches were taken. This is certainly the case for some of the fair copies by John Newman. For example, his watercolour showing Cornwallis' army in 1791 was probably painted in about 1815. The original sketch by Mackenzie is now missing, so we must rely on the inscription on Newman's fair copy to identify when the original field sketch was created. The picture shows two Company soldiers seated on a hilltop watching Cornwallis' army marching past in the distance toward a location called '*Malwakul*' (Plate 23). This picture connects with Mackenzie's involvement with the campaigns of the Third Mysore War. In particular, it highlights the moment in his career immediately before he was commissioned to oversee the Survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions. It was clearly an important drawing for Mackenzie, as it represented a turning point in his career in India. It is therefore not surprising that it was selected for reworking into a fair copy about twenty-five years later. Although we do not know John Newman's exact date of birth, we do know that he began working for Mackenzie in 1807.[54] Apprentice surveyors usually began their careers in their early-to-mid teens, so Newman could not have been born earlier than 1790.

Another fair copy dated 1790, was made of the fort at Dindigal, showing an East India Company official talking to an Indian man on a hill overlooking the fort (Plate 24). The European man is wearing a red East India Company jacket and the Indian is wearing a turban. Just like the other fair copies mentioned earlier, this one was doubtlessly drawn in 1815 or later by one of Mackenzie's copyists. It represents a point in Mackenzie's early career when he was working more closely with Indian intellectuals. However, it would be unrealistic to suppose that the picture represents an actual conversation between a European and an Indian while admiring Dindigal Fort in the distance. Likewise, the picture of the European watching Cornwallis' soldiers marching through a valley would have been an event imagined by the artist who produced the fair copy to represent a stage in Mackenzie's career (see Plate 23).

The Temple Survey

Despite the distant link between Mackenzie's fair copies and the sketches these copies were derived from, and the theatrical inclusion and alteration of people who appear in many of these compositions, they faithfully represent the monuments and landscapes they were intended to represent. If one looks at the fair copies that link with original field sketches, such as the views of Karkala, Ahobilam, and the 'Fakir's Rock' mentioned so far, one consistently finds unerring attention to background details in the fair copies. This accuracy has made it possible to identify

the site depicted in the picture of the temple survey by matching certain details of the temple and the hills in the background with the Kedaresvara Temple in the village of Nagalapuram, in the Turuvekere *taluk* of modern Karnataka (Plate 18). This village is about 25 miles northeast of Sravana Belgola, so the original field sketch that it is based on was probably taken in around 1805 or 1806 when Mackenzie's surveyors were in that area. The temple's shikara is now gone, probably because of the tree that grew out of it, and the Archaeological Survey of India has performed extensive repairs to stabilize the building which have necessarily altered its appearance. Still, the temple's east-facing sanctum and south-facing entrance are both intact. One architectural feature in the Mackenzie picture that stands out today is a dripstone protruding from the temple's northwest side. It connects with the temple's sanctum on the other side of the temple's west wall, which houses a Siva linga. Whilst this feature has helped identify the temple, the most important feature that proves this is the building depicted in the Mackenzie picture is the view behind the temple. Looking towards the southeast, one can see the same hills that are shown in the watercolour. Although they are now partially obscured by coconut palms, they are identical to the hills in the background of the picture. This is consistent with what we find in fair copy watercolours that can be linked with original field sketches.

In spite of the similarities it holds with other fair copies, such as the faithfulness to background details and the addition or alteration of people who stand in the foreground of these landscapes, the picture of temple surveyors still stands out as incredibly different because it is not labelled with a time, a location, or an artist's name. The most likely reason why this picture was not labelled with any such information is because it was never intended to record a journey. Instead of representing an identifiable action occurring at a precise time and place, it was a reconstruction of what a temple survey might have looked like. It was possibly intended to be associated with the Mysore Survey because the temple at the middle of the composition is architecturally representative of the Hoysala style. Such temples are carved out of a dark blue-grey stone known as chloristic schiste and have sanctum walls built in a star-shaped plan, resulting in a multitude of angled projections surrounding the temple's vimana. These angled projections are usually decorated with extremely detailed sculptures. The temple in this picture is painted a blue-grey colour, suggestive of chloristic schiste, and the angular projections of a stellate plan surrounding the vimana are clearly visible. The temple is seen from the back of the vimana, and a flat roofed entrance mandapam is barely visible behind it.

Of the 15 people in the composition, three are Europeans and the other 12 are Indian. The three Europeans are dressed in blue coats and black hats. The tallest European in the group flourishes his hand in the direction of the temple, while the people surrounding him carry various tools. Along with the European standing immediately next to him, he wears a top hat with a plume on the front and black boots. The third European wears a small plain hat and shoes instead of boots. Unlike the other two Europeans, his posture is slouched and his complexion is slightly darker. It has been suggested that he is Anglo-Indian because of his dark complexion and the slightly pejorative way he is drawn. He also holds a drawing book, indicating that he was probably employed as a draftsman. The 12 Indian men in the composition can also be ranked by their appearance. The man carrying a chair on his head wears nothing but a loincloth, and is clearly a labourer. Near him is an Indian wearing a sepoy's uniform. The three Indians standing in the left foreground of the composition are dressed in fine white garments, suggesting that they are local

pandits or translators employed in the survey. To their left stands another Indian man, wearing a dark coloured shawl and carrying a staff. He appears to be a shepherd who has wandered into the composition. Another man stands immediately by the temple's left side, measuring the temple's outer wall. This drawing is unique partially because of the absence of information about the place and time when the action took place, but also because of the level of activity shown by the people in the picture's foreground.

As mentioned earlier, this picture has recently been reproduced in three books. Of these authors, Barbara and Thomas Metcalfe analyse the picture the least, and only reproduce a detail of the drawing showing the group of people in the picture's right corner.[55] The other two authors, Tapati Guha-Thakurta and Nicholas B. Dirks, have both used this picture to illustrate that the British considered India as a civilization in decline and wanted to record Indian history before it was lost. Dirks writes that '[t]he officer has come to draw the ruined temple, to preserve stone on paper, to collect and protect what is being lost to nature and its seemingly inexorable process of decay'.[56] Guha-Thakurta repeats this idea,

> [i]n the image of a tree sprouting out of a broken temple tower, we have one of the most resonant and recurrent 'picturesque' motifs of ruins in a landscape, of civilizations vanished in time and returned to nature. The presence of the sketching officer and his retinue stages, however, a critical intervention against the process of decay: it marks the colonial act of the recovery of history and culture, the preservation of stone on paper.[57]

Such commentaries by respected academics have made the picture of the temple survey into a visual icon that reflects an established theoretical position. They have connected the picture with a popularly received interpretation of a colonial ethos, but they do not take into account the broader circumstances of Mackenzie's research on temples, and the different types of drawings that Mackenzie collected. It is ironic that the watercolour they have chosen to illustrate this point is the only picture in a corpus of over 1,700 drawings that flagrantly does not record stone on paper. It is unlabelled. It is an anomaly. It is the wrong picture to demonstrate their point.

These readings of the picture of temple surveyors as expressing the colonial compulsion to record Indian history will undoubtedly remain a popular route of analysis because of the tidy way it can be described as visualizing an ethos about the British act of gathering information during the colonial period. There is certainly nothing wrong with using a drawing to illustrate one's interpretation of history. However, if one approaches the picture first and investigates why and how it was made, one cannot start by using it to illustrate a preconceived idea. To interpret the picture one must research the historical circumstances behind its creation. The intention of the artist and the patron responsible for creating the picture is the key to establishing these circumstances. In the absence of inscriptional information about the painting, this intention can only be established by looking at other drawings in the Mackenzie Collection and beyond.

The myriad of inconsistencies between the picture of the temple survey and the other fair copies in the Mackenzie Collection, as well as the line drawings collected during the Mysore Survey, make it a puzzle. Why did Mackenzie want a fair copy of a temple survey but did not identify where or when the survey took place? Compared to the rest of the Collection, this

drawing comes across as staged, romanticized, and fictitious. The drawing's engagement with the act of surveying a temple makes it unique, as does the absence of identification of the place and time of the event. Drawings executed by Mackenzie's surveyors always include some details about location and date; by omitting these details, the artist has turned the temple at the centre of the composition into nothing more than a prop for an action that is not located temporally or geographically, which is completely atypical of drawings connected with survey work. Because the identity of the temple is irrelevant to the composition, the purpose of the drawing cannot be to record information. Although there are many sketches and half completed drawings in the Mackenzie Collection which are difficult to identify because of undecipherable handwriting or the use of arcane place names, it is completely inconsistent to find a completed fair copy such as this one which is completely unlabelled.

By looking at other pictures in the Mackenzie Collection, the picture of the temple survey becomes increasingly paradoxical. To understand more fully why this picture was created, one must move beyond Mackenzie's survey work in India and consider other parts of the world where British military surveys were conducted. Because the picture of the temple survey was created during a military survey, it follows that it will share elements in common with other such surveys. It is common knowledge that from the mid-eighteenth century onwards watercolour landscapes were produced during military surveys to supplement the information given in maps. It was less common for watercolours to depict surveys in progress, but such images do exist.

A link can be made between Mackenzie's survey work in India and the work he and his contemporaries conducted in Java between 1811 and 1813. For this reason, the inspiration for the painting of the temple survey may be directly linked to a picture showing the cleaning and surveying of a temple at Candi Sewu in central Java.[58] The painting of the survey at Candi Sewu was collected and possibly also drawn by Hermanus Christian Cornelius, a Dutch military surveyor who lived in Java from 1791 to 1823. A copy of the drawing is now in the Horsfield Collection of the British Library (Plate 25). In 1814, after Mackenzie had left Java, he wrote a letter to Cornelius asking for a copy of 'the view of the antiquities of Brambana and the officers and people employed there, which I saw at Samarang'.[59] It was normal to give copies of drawings to other researchers, and to request copies of drawings from other collections in return.

There are some conspicuous similarities between the Java composition and the Mackenzie drawing of temple surveyors that suggests a connection between the two pictures. The first similarity is the identical uniforms worn by the Europeans in both pictures. In the Candi Sewu painting, which represents a Dutch survey conducted in Java in 1808, the European figures wear blue coats with gold epaulettes, white breeches, black boots, and plumed top hats. Strangely, the two main 'British' surveyors in the Mackenzie Drawing are wearing exactly the same outfit, including the plumed top hats. This uniform stands in marked contrast to the red jacket worn by the Europeans who appear in other pictures in the Mackenzie Collection (see Plate 24), and in the portrait of Colin Mackenzie by Thomas Hickey (see Plate 1). The other key similarity between the Candi Sewu picture and the picture of temple surveyors is the condition of the building at the centre of both compositions. Just like the Javanese temple in the Cornelius drawing, the temple in the Mackenzie Drawing has plants growing out of its roof. Mackenzie's

surveyors obviously prepared a drawing of the Kedaresvara Temple at Nagalapuram during the Mysore Survey that is now missing. Possibly because of its parallel state of dilapidation, the Kedaresvara temple stood out as the ideal focus for a picture of a temple survey in progress, mirroring the action shown in the Cornelius picture of the survey team at Candi Sewu.

If the Cornelius picture inspired the Mackenzie watercolour of temple surveyors, then the Mackenzie picture could not have been made until after 1815. Mackenzie's letter to Cornelius requesting copies of drawings was written in 1814, so he would not have received a copy of the picture until 1814 at the earliest. The Mysore Survey ended in 1810, so this drawing must be either a retrospective account of a temple survey or an artist's impression of how a temple survey was performed. By 1817 Mackenzie was based in Calcutta, so the artist could have been told to replicate the action in the Candi Sewu composition, but with an Indian monument reminiscent of the Mysore Survey at the drawing's centre. The artist may have not understood that the uniforms worn in the Candi Sewu picture were those worn by the Dutch in Java, so he gave the same uniform to the British surveyors in the other composition. The artist was certainly more careful with his depiction of the Indians than he was with representing the Europeans. Such attention to the portrayal of the Indians, showing their different ranks through their dress, suggests that the artist was possibly an Indian copyist. Whilst accurately drawn, the Kedaresvara Temple at the centre of the composition was the incidental object that the artist's composition revolved around. The people surrounding the temple are the fictitious part of the composition.

The earliest known watercolours depicting British map surveys in progress were made during the mid-eighteenth century, when the drawing techniques employed during military surveys were codified. This early codification largely began in Scotland, between 1747 and 1755, following the events of the Battle of Culloden. This is when William Roy supervised the 'British Military Survey of Scotland'. Roy employed a team of draftsmen, one of whom became the famous watercolour painter, Paul Sandby.[60] Born in 1730, Sandby was in his late teens when Roy's survey began. By 1768, Sandby's work was extremely well recognized, and he was appointed as Chief Drawing Master at Woolwich Academy. This ensured that Sandby's style of representing territory through watercolours was included in the tradition of British military surveying. Besides his work as a military surveyor and drawing master, Sandby produced engravings based on his drawings and watercolours, many of which were published in plate books. The earliest of these books was published in 1763 under the title *Collection of Sandby's Etchings*. Some of these engravings reflect Sandby's early career in Scotland, but most of them are benign representations of unidentified landscapes with animated people standing in the foreground and middle ground.[61]

As part of William Roy's survey of Scotland, Sandby created an enormous coloured map of Scotland. The map, which is now in the British Library, was made on a scale of 2 inches to a mile. As well as producing this map, Sandby prepared drawings and watercolours at some of the places encountered during the survey. Most famously, one watercolour shows the survey party at work on the east shore of Loch Rannoch in 1749 (Plate 26).[62] A group of nine men and one woman stand in the foreground and middle ground. Five of the men, all of whom are standing on the shore and wearing trilby hats, are unloading equipment from horses or setting up survey equipment. To the right, a man is seen wearing a kilt, and on the left the woman is observing the scene. In the middle ground, two men are wading in the loch and a third man is emerging from

the water on the other side. On Sandby's monumental map of Scotland, he indicated the spot on the east shore of Loch Rannoch where this view was taken.[63] Although the watercolour of surveyors at Loch Rannoch indicates the time and location of the event, it was within Sandby's convention to portray similar scenes without any indication of place or time, as has been seen in his engravings.

Whilst Sandby conducted surveys in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, and Mackenzie was practising as a military draftsman in another part of the world roughly half a century later, both men came out of the same tradition of military draftsmanship. The picture of the temple survey was indirectly influenced by the work of published military drawing masters like Paul Sandby. Showing the Kedaresvara Temple at Nagalapuram as an incidental, unlabelled prop shows a unique side of Mackenzie's collection agenda that does not appear elsewhere. While it is an anomaly within the Mackenzie Collection, it draws parallels with other survey drawings, such as those prepared by Paul Sandby in Scotland. The Mackenzie picture of the temple survey thus connects with a broader convention amongst military surveyors to represent landscapes or buildings with a survey team conducting its work in the foreground. The purpose of such compositions was not so much to record monuments or landscapes, but more to animate the act of performing the survey, even if the activity was fictitious. The picture of the temple survey can be more directly linked with the Cornelius picture of the Candi Sewu survey in Java, which may have been the model the artist used to create the Mackenzie composition, as is indicated by the identical uniforms of the Dutch and British surveyors.

From Stone to Paper

Conducting surveys of temples was an important part of Mackenzie's research that often led to the production of drawings. These drawings were made by a variety of people and reflect the training of these different contributors. Most of the drawings were by trained military draftsmen while Indian artists prepared others. The training at the disposal of these various assistants determined the kind of drawings they produced. In spite of the variety of drawings he collected, it is wrong to reduce Mackenzie's temple survey work down to the mere production of drawings. He was just as enthusiastic about collecting histories and religious accounts of temples. In some cases, such as his documentation on Tirupati, all the accounts were gathered by Indian translators and the drawings that he collected were by Indian artists. Because Tirupati was a busy, rigorously controlled temple site at the time of Mackenzie's investigations, European surveyors might not have been permitted to work there. Generally, however, Mackenzie's investigations at temple sites included drawings by military draftsmen.

Recent writings on the Mackenzie Collection focus on one particularly intriguing drawing, which unfortunately, is unrepresentative of his project. The simplest way to explain why the unlabelled fair copy of the temple survey was created is to place it within a narrow category alongside other landscapes showing temple surveys, both within and beyond the Mackenzie Collection. Perhaps it was specifically commissioned by Mackenzie or by a colleague who wanted a general picture representative of the Mysore Survey. The action of performing a survey, as shown by the men in the picture's foreground, is the subject of similar drawings gathered during military surveys in different parts of the world. In particular, it is the topic of pictures by Paul

Sandby and it is the central action in the picture of the temple at Candi Sewu, Java, collected by Cornelius.

The picture of the temple survey was definitely made after the Mysore Survey had finished and was most likely created in Calcutta, using a field sketch of the Kedaresvara Temple at Nagalapuram as its background, in the same way that Mackenzie used a field drawing of Karkala by Benjamin Swain Ward as the background for his portrait by Thomas Hickey. Perhaps the picture of the temple survey was similarly considered as the topic of another artistic composition, or maybe it was intended to be the frontispiece of a book or manuscript about the Mysore Survey that Mackenzie never managed to write. Perhaps the original field sketch on which it was based, was not labelled. Or maybe the artist was deliberately instructed to highlight the action of a survey in the picture's foreground. The picture of the temple survey was probably created fifteen years after the original field drawing that it is based upon was gathered. An analysis of watercolour fair copies in the Mackenzie Collection reveal that it was normal for a decade or more to pass before a survey drawing was turned into a fair copy. Whilst the fair copies in the Mackenzie Collection reliably copy the monuments and backgrounds shown in the field sketches, the composition in the foreground is inevitably altered, usually to include a few people or animals. The picture of the temple survey is no exception. It is a faithful representation of the Kedaresvara Temple at Nagalapuram, which even takes into account the hills in the distance, but the identification of the temple was not the aim of the picture.

Recent interpretations of the painting of the temple survey single it out as visualizing the compulsion to transfer information about India into a western format before it was lost. By looking at other materials Mackenzie gathered about temples, one can see the variety of investigative methods he employed. Watercolours showing buildings in a landscape were an important but small part of these investigations. On numerous occasions Mackenzie clearly wrote that he collected in order to assemble a grand body of information to facilitate the expansion of knowledge about South Asia. To quote but one instance, '…a vast body of very interesting materials have been collected which while I remain in India, I mean to improve, as I conceive they may usefully illustrate the Geography, History and Statistics of this Country'.[64] The underlying force that led Mackenzie to collect this material, as repeatedly expressed by him, was the simple wish to increase human knowledge pertaining to an important geographical area. The fact that this information was gathered in a colonial context does not negate that it was a hybrid of western and Indian interpretations of temple space, usage, iconography, and history.

Notes and References

1. Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001. Cover illustration and pp. 105–6; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, 'The Compulsions of Visual Representation in Colonial India', in M.A. Pellizari (ed.), *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture and the Politics of Representation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 108–39; Barbara Metcalfe and Thomas Metcalfe, *A Concise History of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 63–4.
2. 'Traces of India: Photography, Architecture and the Politics of Representation', Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
3. See Chapters 1 and 6.
4. WD1064.

5. Add.29324.
6. Mahabalipuram and Chitradurg are good examples of locations where complementary drawings and local accounts were gathered.
7. There is a translated kyfeat relating to the history of Sivasamudram in the Mackenzie Private Papers (Mss Eur Mack Gen 3).
8. The references for these three drawings are WD1064, f.151 (see Fig. 4.2), WD1067, f.60 (signed by John Newman) and Mss Eur Mack Gen 18A, f.155.
9. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, f.201.
10. WD1063 and Add.29324, ff.58-77.
11. The Victoria and Albert Museum holds similar drawings of the Pudu Mandapam columns made in the 1780s, as well as unique bronze figurines of the columns, also from the same date. See John Guy, 'Tirumala Nayak's Choultry: An Eighteenth Century Model', in Claudine Bautze-Picron (ed.) *Makarand:Essays in Honour of Dr. James C. Harle*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1990.
12. There is a Mackenzie drawing showing the location of the British military camp at Kolar in around 1792. WD4109.
13. Mss Eur Mack Gen 3, f.55.
14. Ibid., ff.59-60.
15. Mss Eur Mack Gen 60, ff.201-202.
16. WD1064, ff.52-61.
17. Franscis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*. London: W. Bulmer and Co. 1807, vol. 3, pp. 390–2.
18. Ibid., p. 90.
19. Ibid., p. 91.
20. WD1064, f.10.
21. WD1064.
22. While at the temple in January 2003, I was greatly assisted in this very capacity by M.P. Mahalingappa.
23. WD1064, f.67.
24. Ibid., ff.78-84.
25. Ibid., ff.85-92.
26. Ibid., f.93.
27. Ibid., ff.70-73.
28. Ibid., f.74-76.
29. H.H. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*. Calcutta: Asiatic Press, 1828. In particular, see the sections on Puranas written in Sanskrit, Tamil, and Kannada.
30. Mss Eur Mack Gen 29 and 30. Title page at Mack Gen 29, f.21.
31. This refers to the style of painting found in palaces and temples in the Tamil region in the pre-colonial period. Beginning in the late eighteenth Century, Tamil painters began working on paper and cloth for the European market.
32. George Michell, *Architecture and Art of Southern India: Vijayanagara and the Successor States, 1350-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 220–70.
33. Add.29324, ff.28-57.
34. For drawings of temples by Tamil artists that were drawn into the Strange Album (Add.29324) see Figure 2 in introduction, and Figures 4.27 and 4.28 in this chapter.
35. Add.29324, f.39; WD635.
36. Mss Eur Mack Gen 25, ff.67-125.
37. Mss Eur Mack Gen 16, ff.490a-500.
38. Mss Eur Mack Gen 45, ff.261-269.
39. Mss Eur Mack Gen 16, f.476c.
40. Mss Eur Mack Gen 9, f.53, 77, 82, 88.
41. NLS, Ms3380, ff.140-141.
42. Nicholas B. Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive', in C. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1993, pp. 279–313.
43. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 175.
44. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, pp. 105–6.
45. Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
46. Guha-Thakurta, 'The Compulsions of Visual Representation in Colonial India', pp. 108–39.
47. Metcalfe and Metcalfe, *A Concise History of India*, p. 4.

48. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, p. 9. Dirks borrows this concept from Bernard Cohn.
49. WD623 and 592.
50. WD576.
51. WD588.
52. Boris Mollo, *The Indian Army*. Poole: Blandford, 1981, p. 35.
53. Mackenzie, Detailed List of the Establishment attached to the Superintendant of the Mysore Survey for the Month ending 30 April 1809 per Order of Government of 28 February 1809, NAI/SIR/SGO 90A.
54. Ibid.
55. Metcalfe and Metcalfe, *A Concise History of India*, pp. 63–4.
56. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, pp. 105–6.
57. Guha-Thakurta, 'The Compulsions of Visual Representation in Colonial India', pp. 117–18.
58. WD957, f.1.
59. M. Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, vol. 2, 1969, p. 455.
60. Andrew Wilton, *British Watercolours 1750 to 1850*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1977, pp. 11–16.
61. Paul Sandby, *A Collection of his Etchings*. London: 1765. BL, King George III Library, 62.i.17. In particular, see the seventh to last page showing John Balfour's coffee house, Edinburgh, 1752 and the oval print on the second to last page showing surveyors.
62. BL, King George III Topographical Collections. K.Top.50.83.2.
63. BL, Maps C.9.b.16
64. Letter from Mackenzie to the Earl of Seaforth, 28 February 1809. NAS, GD46/17/10, f.521.

Chapter 5

Mahabalipuram

Of all the sites investigated by Colin Mackenzie during his four-decade career in India, the one with the largest surviving body of documentation is Mahabalipuram. Today the archaeological remains of Mahabalipuram are the most famous of all Pallava sites in south India. This unique set of monuments is situated about 50 kilometres south of Chennai on the Coromandel coastline. The site, which is today called Mamallapuram after the Pallava king responsible for its construction, is protected by the Archaeological Survey of India, and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The sculpted stones and temples at Mahabalipuram, built in the seventh century AD, are numerous and diverse in form and technique that they constitute an extremely unique record of the architecture, art, and iconography utilized in northern coastal Tamil Nadu during that period. As a result, art historians, archaeologists, and historians interested in India's early architectural history have always shown a keen interest in this important site.

Between 1799 and 1819 Mackenzie was frequently based in Madras and it was from that he recruited and trained his draftsmen, translators, and other research staff. Mahabalipuram's proximity to Madras meant that Mackenzie could occasionally devote his time to visiting the site and sending out his Madras-based assistants to gather information. He probably first learned about Mahabalipuram from an article published in *Asiatick Researches* in 1788 by William Chambers[1] which described it in the 1770s. Mackenzie began gathering documentation on Mahabalipuram in 1799, when he sent his head translator Boriah to collect oral accounts from the local people about their history and understanding of the monuments. Four years later Mackenzie sent Boriah's brother Laksmiah to gather more oral accounts. From 1808 to 1819 he sent surveyors and draftsmen to collect drawings of monuments and sculptures and gave instructions to make a comprehensive map of the entire site (Plate 27).

These investigations were more vigorously pursued after 1816 when Mackenzie learned of his appointment as India's Surveyor General and his imminent move to Calcutta. Mackenzie's documentation from Mahabalipuram helps explain two things. First, it elucidates the process behind gathering information from that particular site, showing which topics Mackenzie considered particularly relevant to his research and that of his contemporaries. Second, by relying on indigenous accounts of the site from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it provides a glimpse of how Mahabalipuram was interpreted by locals during the pre-colonial period.

The recently published interpretations of Mahabalipuram[2] rely on descriptions and interpretations gathered from the late nineteenth century onwards, and rarely take notice of the earlier accounts gathered by Chambers and Mackenzie. Most scholars who have written about Mahabalipuram from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, have been unaware of Mackenzie's and Chambers' accounts. As early as 1828, when Mackenzie's work at the site was still within living memory, Benjamin Guy Babington wrote that 'the legendary accounts of the Brahmans at Mahabalipur, which are given at such length by Mr. Chambers… I attach little value… I even doubt whether Mahabalipur was ever, as asserted by them [Mackenzie and Chambers], the site of a great city, now partially covered by the sea'.[3] Babington then goes on to mention 'the fruitless attempts made by the late Mr. Ellis and Colin Mackenzie to ascertain the existence of sunken buildings by careful soundings made off the shore'.[4] Mr Ellis is no other than Mackenzie's colleague, Francis Whyte Ellis, the linguist who established the College at Fort Saint George.[5]

In this chapter I will study the writings and drawings Mackenzie collected from the site to show how the local inhabitants of Mahabalipuram interpreted the monuments amidst which they lived around 1800. Such a picture gives a clearer idea of how the site was locally understood in the pre-colonial period. By doing this, I will bring forward some new readings of the site's monuments. Mackenzie's documentation shows how local populations perceived the site before the colonial period. It will reveal how the site was understood before archaeological practice, tourism, and other forms of colonial interpretation altered and defined the site into what we see today. In particular, I will focus on the three most discussed monuments at Mahabalipuram: the sculptued cliff face, the Shore Temple, and the five *rathas*.

Mackenzie's accounts of Mahabalipuram were gathered over a period of seventeen years, between 1799 and 1816, and come in three different forms. First, there were written accounts gathered by Indian translators who translated local oral histories into English. These translators went to Mahabalipuram in 1799 and 1803. Second, Mackenzie sent out his British and 'native born' European assistant surveyors to make a map of the site in 1808. Third, in 1816, draftsmen were sent to the site to gather drawings, plans, and elevations of the monuments and to make line drawings of the sculptures covering some of these monuments. It is significant that the written accounts were gathered first and the maps and drawings were gathered afterwards to record the monuments mentioned in the written accounts. It shows that indigenous accounts of the site determined what the surveyors and draftsmen were instructed to note. To demonstrate this, let us consider these three sources of documentation in chronological order.

1799 and 1803: The Written Accounts

Mackenzie's earliest written account of Mahabalipuram was collected in 1799 by Boriah. Titled 'Account of the Ruins and Sculptures at Mahavellypooram', the account was based on information provided to Boriah by the residents of Mahabalipuram village. In 1799 this village was little more than a few huts located between the sculpted 'Arjuna's Penance' cliff face and the Shore Temple. Boriah described the village as 'a small place only inhabited by [a] few poor people residing in Cadjan [palm leaf] cottages'.[6] Boriah's account is extremely general and fills only six manuscript pages. Perhaps his investigations in 1799 were only considered to be preliminary, and were a way of supplementing the information in an article published in the previous year in the

Calcutta-based journal, *Asiatick Researches*.[7] The article was titled 'Some Account of Sculptures at Mahabalipooram' and was written by J. Goldingham. Because this article was written from the perspective of a European traveller, Mackenzie might have been curious to find out more about the site through the local people, thus prompting him to send Boriah to gather this information.

Boriah's younger brother, Laksmiah, gathered the second written account in May 1803. His account is divided into two parts. One deals specifically with descriptions and interpretations of the monuments, and the other looks at the history of the site as described by the locals. Before he left for Mahabalipuram, Laksmiah received a letter from Mackenzie outlining how to go about his enquiries and what to ask the locals.

> You should make yourself however acquainted at first with the most respectable people of the place and of the Pagodas: and the Mootadars Managers of the District and endeavour with civility to get their good will and carefully avoid to give offence by any indiscreet interference beyond your own business.
>
> You may then at your leisure proceed to enquire into the different points I wish to be informed of.[8]

Mackenzie then listed the questions Laksmiah was to ask the locals. These questions cover everything from the naming of monuments and circumstances of their construction to the local history and types of festivals celebrated in the area. It was an opportunity to flesh out the brief, preliminary investigations made by his older brother, Boriah, in 1799. Mackenzie probably intended to send Boriah back to Mahabalipuram to conduct further investigations, but on 7 January 1803 he died at the age of 27. Mackenzie gives an oblique reference to Boriah's death in his letter to Laksmiah, 'Take care of yourself and your younger brother [Ramaswami] and endeavour to improve and encourage him in useful pursuits particularly the study of the Sanscrit'.[9]

Laksmiah's two accounts of Mahabalipuram, which fill 24 hand-written manuscript pages, are additionally unique because he spoke to the villagers from two rival communities. He began by describing the village of Mahabalipuram, between the sculpted rock face and the Shore Temple, which Boriah had visited four years earlier. It had changed since 1799 and the description provided by Laksmiah as extra details about it. 'All the houses of Mahavellypooram are thatched with Palmyra leaves and straw excepting two tiled houses of the Vistava Bramins: of the Rock—no other Bramins except Vistavooloo reside here'.[10] The village had increased in size and become wealthier, with two houses built out of more permanent materials. This account also tells us that the villagers of Mahabalipuram were Vaishnava brahmins.

Laksmiah also went to another village north of this one, where the main bus station and associated buildings of the modern town of Mamallapuram stand today. The people of that village, named 'Patchee Teertom' by Laksmiah, and 'Purchary' on the 1808 survey map of Mahabalipuram, were Shaiva rather than Vaishnava, and provided Laksmiah with information that questioned and contradicted what he was told by the villagers who resided in the old village of Mahabalipuram. These contrasting accounts between the Vaishnava community of Mahabalipuram and the Shaiva village of Patche Tirtham give incredible insight into pre-colonial interpretations of the monuments.[11]

In October 1803, soon after Laksmiah recorded his extensive accounts of Mahabalipuram's history and monuments, Colin Mackenzie went to the site in the company of his European colleagues, Thomas Strange, Francis Whyte Ellis, and John Leyden who recorded the following account of their visit.

> My curiosity having been greatly excited by the accounts which I have heared of the Hindu sculptures and excavations at Mavalipooram or the Seven Pagodas, I embraced an opportunity of visiting it in company with Major Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Strange and F.W. Ellis Esqr, gentlemen whose company and conversation I was sure would amply compensate for any disappointment which I might experience from the view of these ancient caves and ruins.[12]

Leyden's account of the site is more descriptive than interpretive. He does not mention any of Mackenzie's brahmin translators in the account, but certainly the new information that Laksmiah gathered had stimulated Mackenzie's enthusiasm for the site, and gave him a great deal to discuss with his European colleagues. The accounts translated by Laksmiah and Boriah were obviously of interest to Thomas Strange because Mackenzie had them copied into the volume of drawings he gave Strange in 1816.[13]

1808: Surveying the Site

The map prepared in 1808 was the first to be made at Mahabalipuram using European survey techniques(Plate 27). Although the map is unsigned, we know from a letter written by Mackenzie on 10 May 1808 that he was at Mahabalipuram when the map was created.[14] A small team of assistant surveyors would have accompanied him. It is drawn to the scale of 1 inch to 200 yards and an arrow indicates which direction is north. Some lines drawn along the same parallel as the coastline indicate the use of trigonometry to determine distances. The map is coloured to distinguish sandy areas from areas with vegetation; rocky outcrops are indicated through dark brown patches. Foundations of man-made structures are shown in pink. Significant points are labelled with numbers and letters, and a key along the lower edge identifies these labelled areas. The map even indicates where the local people built their houses, and shows an old grid layout of abandoned streets between the carved cliff face and the sea. This area is labelled '14' on the map (Map 5.1).

The largest of the drawings (Fig. 5.1) taken in 1808 is a panorama in two parts of the sculpted cliff. It was probably made by one of the draftsmen who worked on the map. An inscription at the bottom of the drawing reads as follows and is signed by Mackenzie.

> Ancient Sculptures on the Rocks at Mavelliporum. The Tap-as of Arjoon on the Mountain of Indra Keiladree, in honour of Param-Iswar: Iswar appears to him, in all his proper attributes, and in honour of the constancy and valour with which Arjoon had resisted the various illusions to try his fortitude, he grants him the celestial weapon Pasu-Putt-Astrum; (by which he and his brethren were to subdue their enemies) amidst the assembly of applauding Devatas who hasten to behold the glorious spectacle, and confer gifts and their peculiar weapons on that heroe. The story is related to the 3rd Purvum of Maha Barut—as narrated by C V Leitmyah.[15]

This label is a quote taken from Laksmiah's 1803 account titled 'the Gods, Goddesses, Radums or Chariots, Muntapums and other Sculptures now remaining at Mahavellyporam'.[16] It shows that Laksmiah Brahmin's written account from 1803 informed the survey work in 1808.

Rock
Pp Ruins of an ancient Hindoo Bridge
Qq A Mutilated Male Image
rr Different remains of ancient Buildings observed on the Sands
ss Ancient foundation of Image of Pootroo Collon
tt Two Imitations of Serpents cut out of Stone
uu Stone Quarries where Granite is commonly cut
Scale of 200 Yards to an Inch

Map 5.1 Detail of Mackenzie's 1808 map of Mahabalipuram showing the area between the carved cliff face and the shoreline. The sculpted area stretches between 'h' and 'h'. The old Arjuna Ratha is marked 'd' (Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.276)

1816: Drawings of the Monuments

Most of the drawings Mackenzie collected of sculpture from Mahabalipuram were made in 1816 and were bound into a volume titled *Antiquities of Mavellipore or Maha Bali Pooram*.[17] Another copy of the same album was deposited in the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta.[18] This was the year when Mackenzie undertook extensive preparations before his departure to Calcutta to take up his post as Surveyor General of India. Between 1816 and 1817 Mackenzie had to organize his entire collections in preparation for the move. He also tried to complete the investigations he had always intended to carry out at Mahabalipuram and Amaravati.[19] The dated drawings in the Mahabalipuram album safely identify the 1816 expedition as taking place between June and July.[20] These drawings serve as an example of the various techniques employed by Mackenzie's assistant surveyors. Some of the drawings show plans or elevations of specific monuments, while others are line drawings of particular pieces of sculpture (see Fig. 5.5).

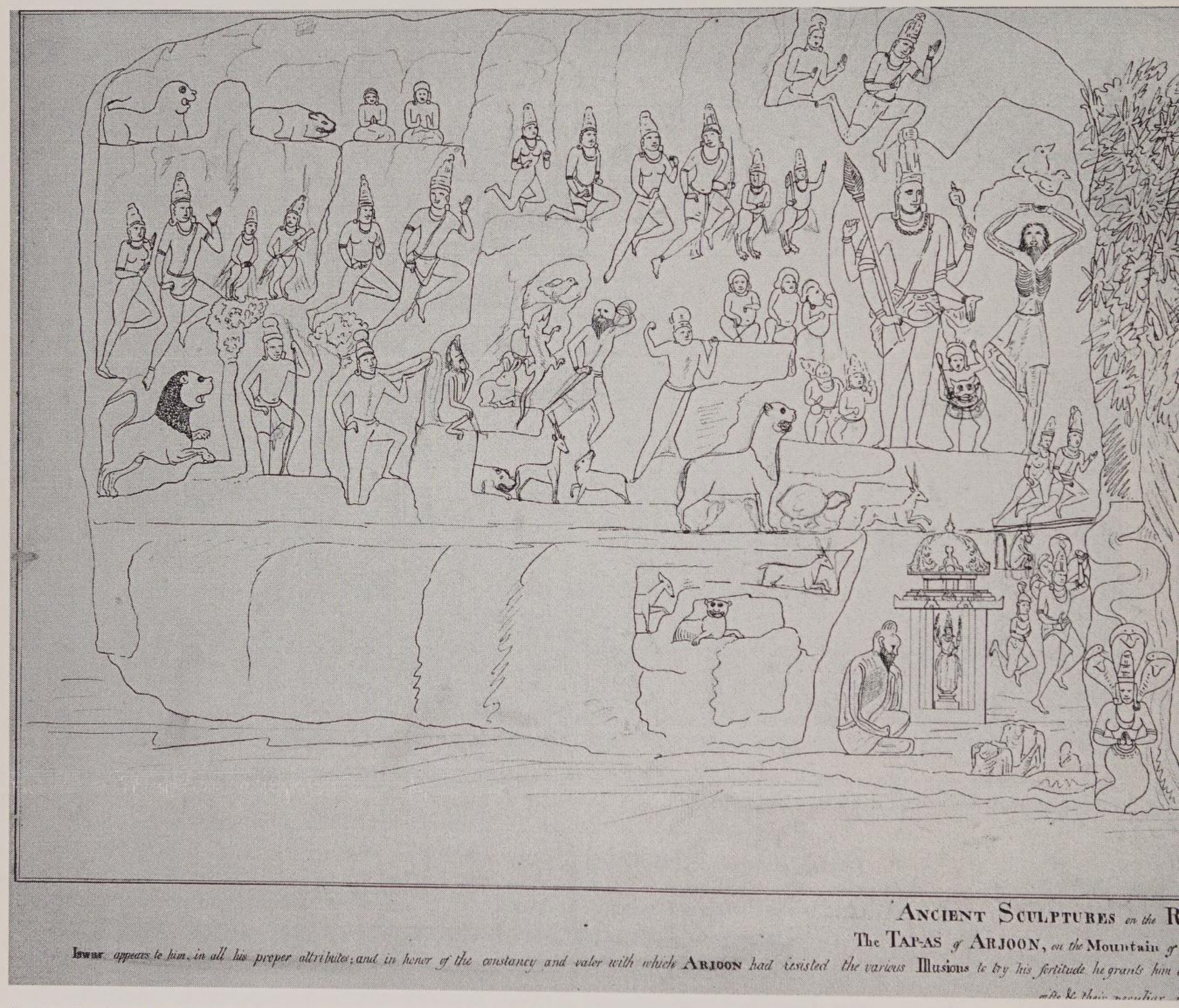
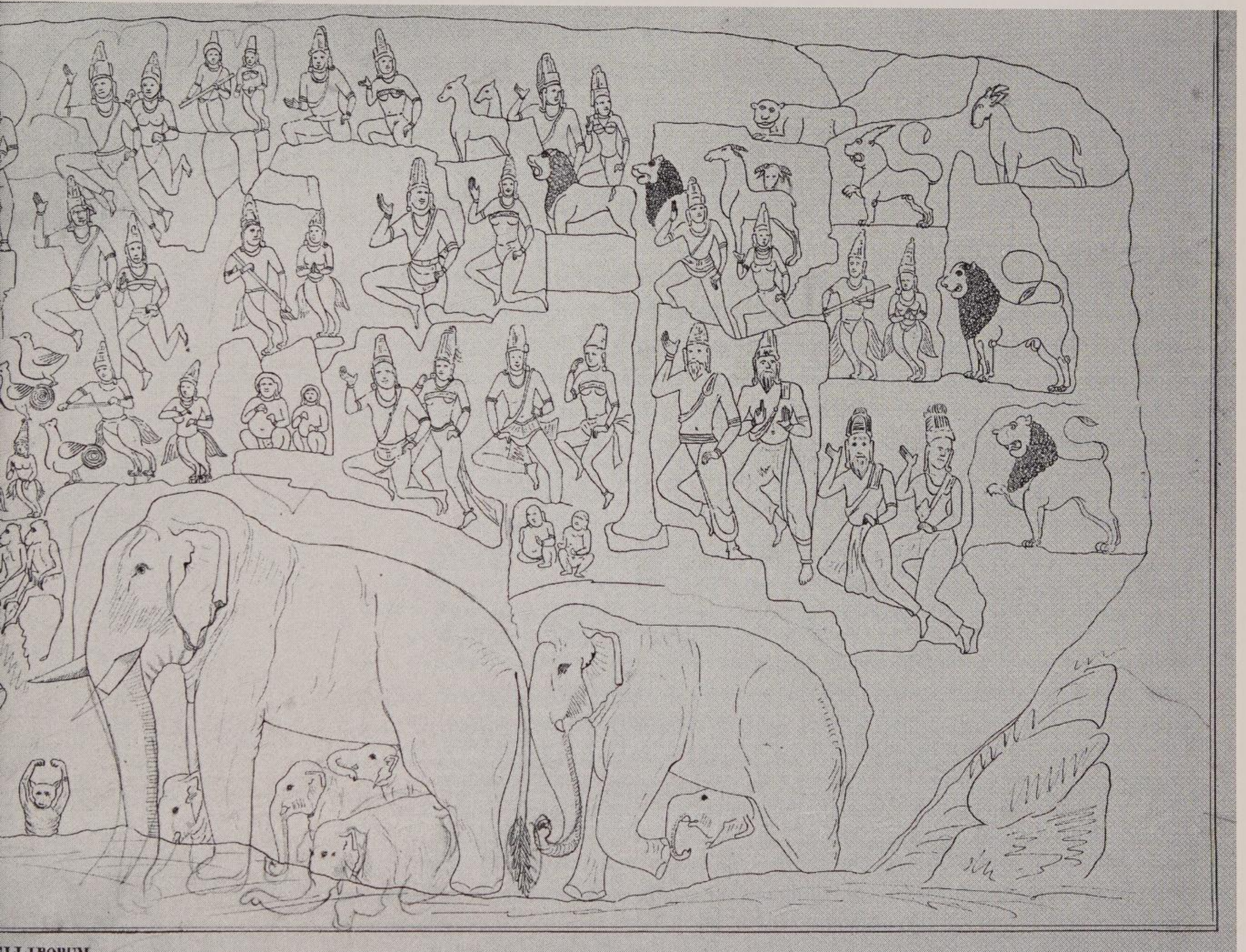

Ancient Sculptures on the R
The Tap-as of Arjoon, on the Mountain of
Iswar appears to him, in all his proper attributes; and in honor of the constancy and valor with which Arjoon had resisted the various Illusions to try his fortitude he grants him

Fig. 5.1 Drawing of the 'Arjuna's Penance' panorama carved onto the cliff face at Mahabalipuram, 1808 (WD2624)



ELLIPORUM.

DREE, *in honor of* PARAM-ISWAR:

PAUSU-PUTT-ASTRUM, *(by which he and his brethren were to subdue their enemies) amidst the Assembly of applauding* **Devatas**, *who hasten to behold the glorious Spectacle & confer*

Unlike the written accounts of the Kavali brothers of 1799 and 1803, the map and drawings that Mackenzie collected in 1808 and 1816 were not signed by the draftsmen who prepared them. Many of the drawings bear signatures, but these are the names of Mackenzie's Calcutta-based copyists, such as Pyari Lal, Shaikh Abdullah, John Gould, John May, and Najibullah. The only draftsman named in the drawings from Mahabalipuram is John Newman, one of Mackenzie's 'native born' European assistants (Plate 28). It was prepared by Newman on 30 July 1816 and then copied by John May on 13 April 1819. Newman was recruited from the Madras Orphans' Asylum when he was a child and worked with Mackenzie until his death in 1817. We can speculate about the identities of the other assistant surveyors who worked on drawings at Mahabalipuram based on the dates of other signed drawings in the collections, but between 1816 and 1819 only the copyists who worked on the Mahabalipuram drawings signed their work.

The written accounts, drawings, and plans Mackenzie collected at Mahabalipuram represent a nascent stage in the understanding of the site. Our knowledge of the monuments at Mahabalipuram has increased substantially since the time of Mackenzie's examinations, mainly through the deciphering of inscriptions and the establishment of Pallava regnal dates. To researchers today, with our recently gained understanding of the site, the local histories gathered by Boriah and Laksmiah in 1799 and 1803 come across as little more than myths. However, their accounts gave unique information about how the site was viewed by local people during the pre-colonial period. One example of the value of this local information is found in Laksmiah's historical account of Mahabalipuram, dated May 1803.

> the kings of Conjeveram ruled over the country in former ages with the greatest benevolence one better than the other.
>
> In this present Callee Yoog several kings had passed there was a king called Raloocotty Lingama Nagoodiya who ruled the country 400 years ago. In his time he erected palaces upon the hill built of bricks which are now ruined and only some bricks remaining are the only token of these buildings. In the reign of this rajah a vast number of stone cutters came to this place of Mahavellipooram from the [blank space] in consequence of a great famine to visit the rajah who then employed them to cut all these rocks into sculptures representing muntapums radums or chariots pagodas and other curious works carved according to the rules of the Sillpee Sastrum or the Art of Building and Sculptures.[21]

Although this account estimates the construction of the monuments as occurring several hundred years later than the established reign of the Pallavas, it does say that the ruler responsible for their construction descended from the 'kings of Conjeveram'. Indeed, the Pallava kings who were responsible for Mahabalipuram's construction were based at Kanchipuram.

The Shore Temple

For contemporary archaeologists examining the monuments at Mahabalipuram, one of the most important structures is definitely the Shore Temple (Fig. 5.2). Built in the early eighth century during the reign of Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha, this temple, which sits on the shoreline and is perpetually lustrated by the sea, is one of the few free-standing, non-monolithic Pallava structures at the site. At its centre there is an east-facing *garbhagriha* containing a linga. To the west of this there is a larger sanctum containing a sculpture of Vishnu Narayana reclining

on his serpent, Vaikuntha/Sesa. Further to the west again there is a third sanctum with another linga. This unusual triple sanctum has made it impossible to decide whether the Shore temple was constructed for Vaishnava or Shaiva worship. By looking at the accounts gathered by Boriah and Laksmiah at the towns of Mahabalipuram and Patche Tirtham, one can reach a clearer idea of whether the Shore Temple was considered a Vaishnava or Shaiva temple around 1800.

These indigenous accounts from Mahabalipuram are helpful when trying to identify sectarian connections with the monuments. Some monuments are obviously Vaishnava or Shaiva. For example, the Varahaswami cave is clearly a Vaishnava monument.[22] In Laksmiah's account of 1803, which he gathered from both the Vaishnava inhabitants at Mahabalipuram and the Shaiva residents of Patche Tirtham, he recounts the story of the cave's establishment through the pious actions of a prince who was a devotee of Varaha. Every morning the prince travelled from Mahabalipuram to the nearest Varaha temple for worship. One morning, before the prince left for his daily worship, Varaha appeared to him disguised as an elderly brahmin and asked for food. Although it was the prince's custom to distribute food only after returning from the temple, he decided to forego the journey to the temple and to worship the brahmin as if he was Varahaswami. Through this act of piety Varaha revealed his true self.

> [T]he Prince rejoiced Prostrated himself often at his divine feet, and praised him with most profound submission in various modes to please him; then the God was well pleased with his praise and desired him to ask whatsoever he wanted; the King glorified him again with fervent devotion and addressed him thus 'O God! There is nothing wanting to me in this world; but that you remain here always that I may behold your holy feet; therefore grant me this favour'; thereupon the God granted him his wishes and took up his residence on the West side of the rock in a Cave looking to the West...[23]

Other buildings at Mahabalipuram evade sectarian interpretation. For buildings such as the Shore Temple, the indigenous accounts shed scant light on this unusual temple's sectarian origins but speak volumes about the conflicts between the two rival villages (see Fig. 5.2). Boriah's account of the Shore Temple from 1799 was gathered by talking to the Vaishnava brahmins who resided in the village of Mahabalipuram, next to the Shore Temple. He began by describing the Shore Temple, mentioning the sanctum in the garbhagriha and the larger sanctum to the west containing the image of Vishnu.

> 1/4 mile east from this village there is a curious pagoda built out of black stones close to the sea shore, upon which are carved many pictures within the walls[.] in the centre of this Temple is placed a Lingum which was broken into 2 pieces during the troubles of the French; on the West of this Lingum is a stone Statue 10 feet long laying along on the ground which some say is Vistoo and others say Rajah Bally who was confined there by Seevoo; the waves of the sea beat at all times against the gate of this pagoda; near it there is a stone pillar, 50 yards East from the sea shore, standing from out of the waves which appears very curious.[24]

There are two interesting features of this account. First, in spite of Boriah's ability to sleuth out the local names of the various monuments, the Vaishnava villagers of Mahabalipuram do not give a name for the Shore Temple. Second, one wonders whether the French were connected with breaking the linga in this temple. Possibly, they sought to remove it and take it away as a trophy,

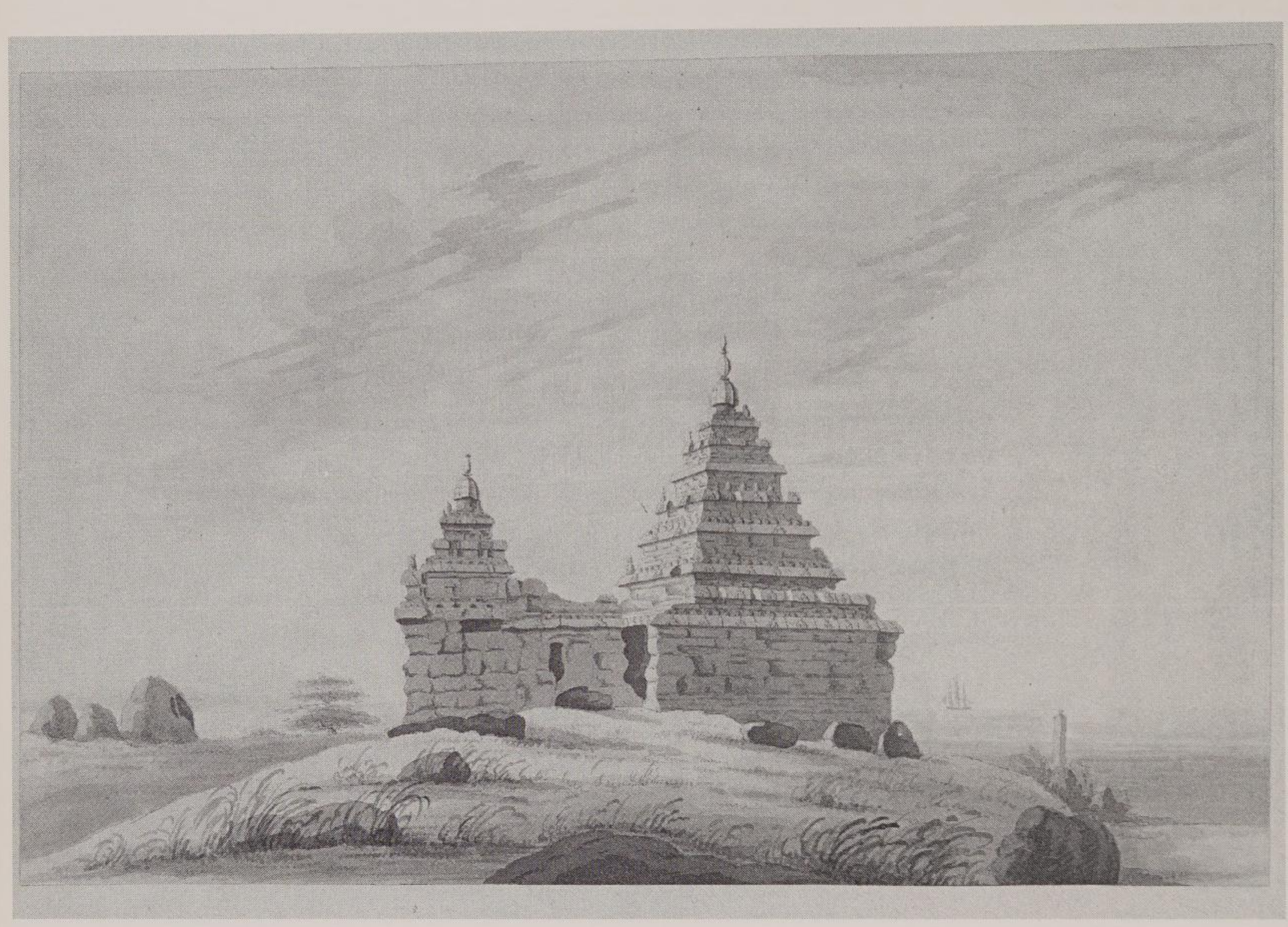


Fig. 5.2 Watercolour of the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram (WD643)

but this would have been out of character. The compulsion to remove important sculptures from temples was an activity perhaps more indicative of the British during that period than of the French.

The second temple described to Boriah by the Vaishnava brahmins of Mahabalipuram in 1799, which was of more recent construction than the Shore Temple, was referred to as the 'Pagoda of the superior God of Mahavellypooram'.[25] Today the temple is called the Talasayana Perumal Temple. To the Vaishnava brahmins of Mahabalipuram village it was the most important temple in the area. Its sanctum contains 'the God Stala Sayana Swamy… placed lying down with his head to the South and feet to the North'. A sculpture of the ascetic who was responsible for convincing the god to reside at Mahabalipuram stands at Stalasayana Svami's feet. There is also a shrine for a goddess and another shrine to the Alvar saints.[26] The main image in this temple is a reclining Vishnu like the one in the Shore Temple and Mahesasuramardini cave (Fig. 5.3). Boriah described it as having a double sanctum, 'one for Vistoo and the other for the Goddess Nalamunganancheeroo'.[27] The festival for Stalasayana Svami was held in the month of Avani (August/September).[28] The people who showed Boriah these monuments categorically told him that this newer temple, dedicated to Vishnu, was more important than the Shore Temple.

With the hindsight of Boriah's account, Laksmiah's investigations at Mahabalipuram went into more detail. In the instructive letter Mackenzie wrote to Laksmiah he asked him to 'remark particularly [on] the old Pagoda near the sea and enquire into its history and why the symbols of Vistnoo and Seevan are seen together at this temple'.[29] Laksmiah fully responded to this enquiry and in doing so, exposed a complex rivalry that had been going on for some time between these two communities. While Boriah had only spoken to the Vaishnava villagers residing near the Shore Temple, Laksmiah extended his enquiries to the Shaiva villagers at Patche Tirtham, less than a mile north of the carved cliff face, at the spot now regarded as the modern town of Mamallapuram. The residents of Patche Tirtham told Laksmiah that 'in the time of Croostalayloo [Krsna Raya?] a great difference arose between the Veestnoo Bramins of Mahavellipooram and the Seevoo Bramyns of Patchee Teertom about the religious opinions of their sects'.[30] This rivalry apparently led to several malicious incursions to desecrate each other's temples. The Shaivite brahmins at Patche Tirtham claimed that

> in consequence of this dispute the Vistnoo Bramins to prevent the Seevoo Bramins annual procession thither with their God supposing if they broke down the images that then after no one would come from Patchee Teertom having thus resolved they broke down the two gods also tore their Stala Pooranum and the Histories of the Ancient Kings. They threw into the sea to prevent any future kings enquiring into the histories if they were preserved; this being told soon to the Patchee Teertom People they broke down the Vistoo Pagoda at Patchee Teertom in revenge of the Seevoo Pagodas destroyed by the Mahabalipooram people.[31]

Laksmiah's accounts of the monuments at Mahabalipuram are nuanced by the recognition that these two different communities placed different levels of value and importance on specific temples.

Laksmiah's investigations at the Shore Temple were not successful. Like his brother Boriah, he too could not obtain an account of the temple's name.

> E. of the village near the sea shore is a pagoda of Eswar; but its particular name is not known since the destruction of the Stala Pooranum when the people here were asked about this they gave different names but none that can be depended on with certainty—On my enquiring very particularly of this the Vistava Bramins at last acknowledged they really did not know the true name as the Stala Pooranum was destroyed.[32]

For the Shaivite brahmins of Patche Tirtham, the most important temple at Mahabalipuram was a disused Siva temple marked 'a' on the 1808 map. In 1803 the statue of Siva still remained in the sanctum, but 'the nundy or ox the Vehanum of Eswur [was] said to be carried away to Madras by Lord Clive'.[33] This same temple is referred to today as the Trimurti Temple. Unfortunately Laksmiah could not properly answer Mackenzie's question about the sectarian origins of the Shore Temple, as neither of the communities he spoke to regarded the temple as important any more. Although western accounts focus on the Shore Temple as the most important one in Mahabalipuram, the accounts gathered by Mackenzie's brahmin assistants show that 200 years earlier the most important temples at the site were those actively used by the respective Vaishnava and Shaiva communities, and because the Shore Temple had fallen into disuse, it was unimportant. Further, the rivalries between these communities resulted in the loss of knowledge about the Shore Temple.

Ancient Sculptu

NARRAIN-VISHENOO or the Eter

Punishment averted by Conte

& thee Angel of De

MAVELLYPORAM

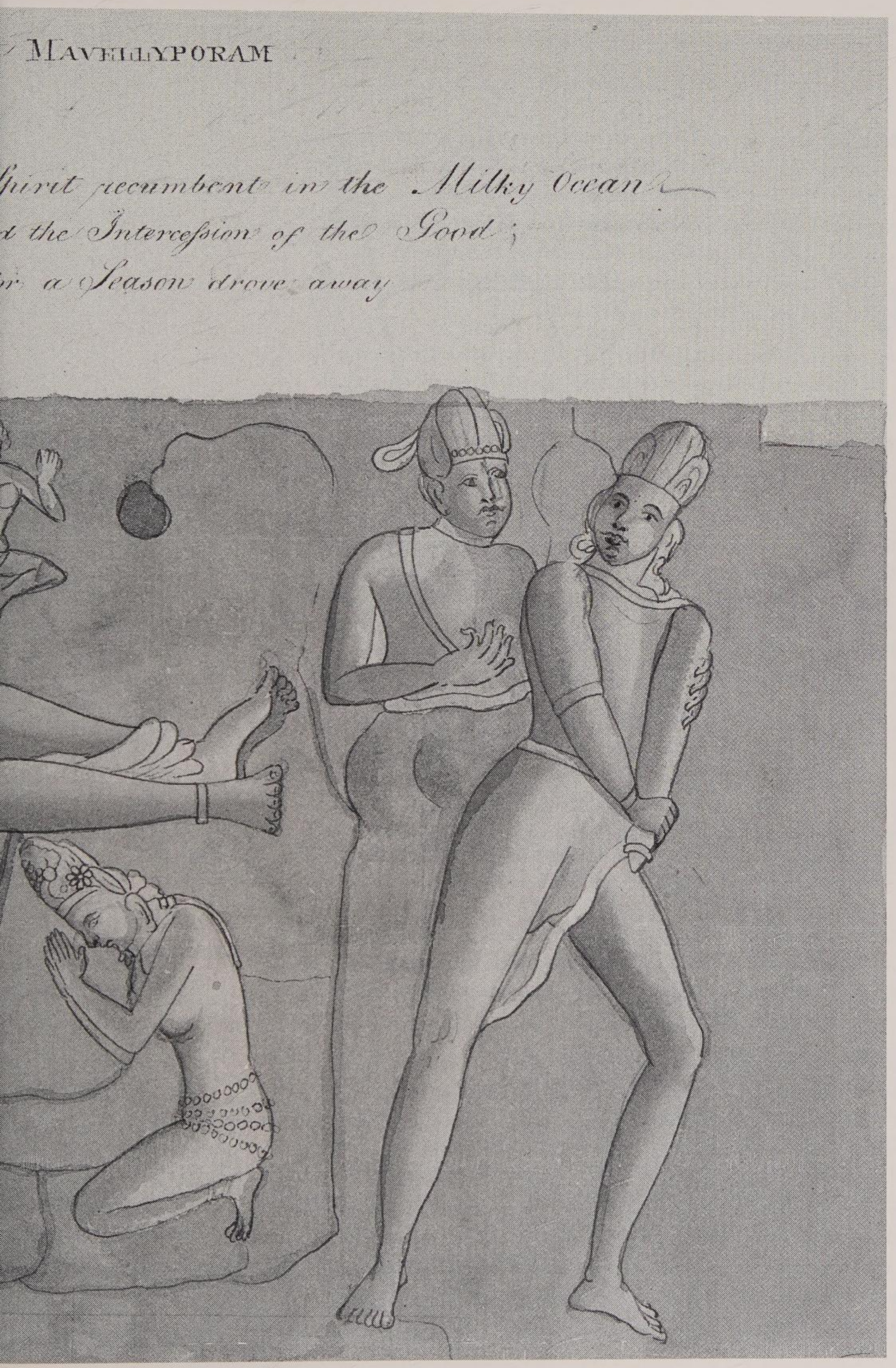


Fig. 5.3 Sculpture of Vishnu Narayana reclining on Sesa inside the Mahesasuramardini Temple, Mahabalipuram (Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.302)

The Sculpted Cliff

Another monument at Mahabalipuram that has been a persistent topic of scholarly interpretation for the last century is the sculpted cliff. Since 1911 debates have raged about whether the story carved into this rock face depicts the story of Arjuna's penance or not. The written account, map, and drawings collected by Mackenzie provide information about this particular monolithic sculpture that has been overlooked by recent researchers. By looking at these drawings and accounts we can learn how the local community interpreted the sculptures carved into the cliff face before European investigations and new interpretations began.

The drawing of the carved rock face dated 1808 (see Fig. 5.1) was preceded by Laksmiah's account dated 1803. In the Mackenzie Collection there are two other drawings showing details from the carved cliff face, both of which correspond with Laksmiah's written accounts. One of these drawings shows Arjuna standing on one leg with a four-armed Siva figure standing beside him and bears a caption (see Fig. 5.4) which corresponds with the following description gathered by Laksmiah.

> W. of the road on the E. side of the rock is represented Arjoonoodoo [Arjuna] praying to Eswur [Ishvar] standing with his two hands closed held over his head and with a venerable Beard. Eswur pleased with his austere devotion appears to him with four hands holding three weapons Damroogum Treesoolum and Pasoopadum; between Seevoo and Aurjoonoodoo Veeswa Kurma [Vishvakarma] stands holding the Baudida the Adze or Instruments used by Hindoo artificers on his shoulder and another instrument in his hand.[34]

The other drawing of sculptural detail from the cliff face shows a seated ascetic (Fig. 5.5). A written description for the sculpture in this drawing appears in Boriah's 1799 account titled 'Account of the Ruins and Sculptures at Mahavellyporam'.[35]

> at this place there appears at the bottom of those a figure of an aged *Bramin* which people say is Dronacharey [Drona], teacher of the Bow Men in the Mahabharat; this picture appears more curious than the rest, being exceeding by expressive of an emaciated old man.[36]

The correspondence between the subject matter of these three drawings and the sculptural details described in the accounts taken by the Kavali brothers suggest that the draftsmen who were sent to gather drawings in July 1816 were told specifically to illustrate passages from the written accounts.

In 1911, J.P. Vogel proposed an alternative interpretation of the story on the sculpted cliff face. He wrote an article saying that it did not depict the story of Arjuna's penance, and opened the debate over other possible interpretations. His paper begins by explaining how this research was 'the outcome of a one day's visit to the place', and says that 'previous writers placed too great a reliance on local traditions and native interpretations, which, strange though it may seem, form by no means a safe guidance through the labyrinth of Brahmanical iconography'.[37] After expressing these doubts about local knowledge, Vogel pointed out several reasons why he felt the carved rock face at Mahabalipuram could not show the story of Arjuna's penance, saying that 'all that is typical in that episode is absent here'. The article does not give an alternative interpretation for the carvings.

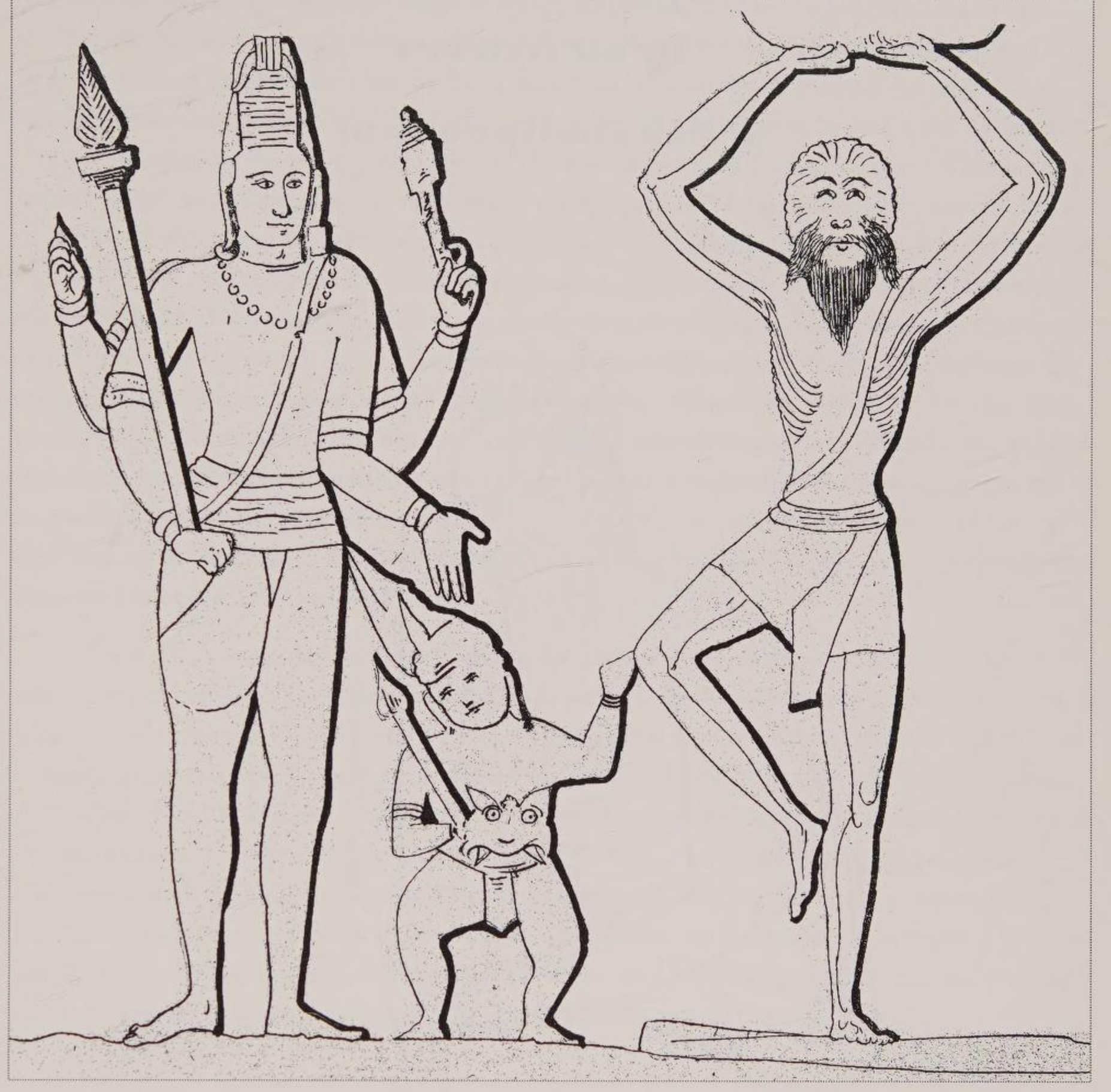


Fig. 5.4 Arjuna standing on one leg, on the sculpted cliff face at Mahabalipuram, 1816 (Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.303)

It appears that doubts about the subject matter of this sculpture had arisen both with the French and the British. In 1914, soon after Vogel's article was published, Victor Goloubew of the Ecole Francais D'Extreme Orient published an article titled 'La Falaise d'Arjuna de Mavalipuram et la Descente de la Ganga sur la Terre, Selon le Ramayana et le Mahabharata'. Goloubew wrote that he and his colleague, Jouveau-Dubreuil, had identified the sculpted cliff as depicting the story of the Ganges' descent from the Mahabharata. This is the first written instance of this interpretation in any archaeological literature relating to Mahabalipuram. It has subsequently become one of the two received interpretations of the carved cliff face's iconography. That this second interpretation began as a reaction by European scholars against indigenous interpretations has not been properly discussed. One of the recent theories about the identity of the narrative on the sculpted cliff face is that it depicts both the descent of the Ganges and Arjuna's penance simultaneously.[38]

All these interpretations falter if one wants to understand how this complex narrative carving was interpreted in the late pre-colonial period. Over 200 years ago, before the cliff face

Sculptured Figure of

Drǒn Achâri

at **Mahabălipooram**

Fig. 5.5 Dronacharya on the sculpted cliff face at Mahabalipuram, 1816 (WD1068, f.18)

had become an object of scholarly study, it was clearly identified by local people as depicting the story of Arjuna's penance from the Mahabharata. This interpretation was further backed by another piece of evidence noted by Mackenzie that has completely escaped the attention of scholars. Immediately above the cliff face there is a monolithic stone ratha which was called the Arjuna ratha during the pre-colonial period. The Kavali brothers' written accounts document the name change that occurred to the ratha above the sculpted cliff face. Like the five famous rathas to the south, this temple is carved out of a single boulder. It sits directly above and to the north of the carved cliff face at Mahabalipuram. A path connects this temple with the area in front of the rock face. In 1803 Laksmiah described it as the 'Arjoona Radum or the Chariot of Arjoonoo, cut out of one stone the people say that herein formerly was one Image of Sevoo; but some years ago an English Gentleman carried it away [and] afterward the village Bramins placed a Ganasa in its place'.[39] The same temple is described in Boriah's account from December 1799 as 'a temple cut out of one stone from bottom to top; and a lingum placed in it which appears exceedingly neat and well polished—the people here told me that Rajah Arjoon prayed to this temple of Seevoo they had cut in the rock'.[40] The linga within the Arjuna ratha was obviously removed some time between December 1799 and May 1803.[41]

Today the same ratha (marked 'd' on the Mackenzie map) contains a Ganesha image, as mentioned in Laksmiah's account of 1803. Guide books from the mid-nineteenth century onwards all refer to this temple as the Ganesha ratha. Although the Archaeological Survey of India[42] recognizes that the temple used to contain a linga, its significance 200 years ago as a place where Arjuna venerated Siva is not recognized.[43] The identification of this monolithic temple above the 'Arjuna's Penance' cliff face as the 'Arjuna Ratha' certainly helps corroborate the pre-colonial interpretation of the sculptural programme which certainly casts aspersions on interpretations formulated by European scholars. Given the choice between an interpretation connected with the site in the pre-colonial period, and another one formulated by Europeans in the colonial period, the former interpretation is definitely more believable than the latter.

The Five Rathas

About 1.5 kilometres to the south of the Arjuna's Penance rock are the five monolithic stone temples known as the rathas. These free-standing structures were carved out of solid rock probably in the early eighth century and are currently named after characters from the Mahabharata. Next to them are monolithic carvings of an elephant and a lion (Plate 29). Mackenzie's surveyors made drawings of each of them, except for the Draupadi ratha. This set of monuments is completely unique to India. The imitation thatch on the roof of the Draupadi ratha and the carved imitation wooden eaves of the others are meant to resemble perishable building materials. They are considered by historians of Indian art and architecture to be valuable records of different architectural forms that were commonly built out of perishable materials in eighth-century south India.

The five rathas are today named after the Pandavas. There has been some question about the genuineness of the term 'ratha' and the current naming of the monoliths after characters from the Mahabharata. Vidya Dehejia[44] has suggested that both the term 'ratha' and the individual names of each monument were given at a later date. The Mackenzie accounts clearly

indicate that in 1800, before the site had been analysed by archaeologists and art historians, these monuments were called rathas and were named after the Pandavas. Although Boriah's account from 1799 is brief, he definitely refers to these structures as rathas: 'South of the rock half a mile distant there are five stone radams made of single stones, the like of which I have not seen yet in all these countries.'[45] Laksmiah's more detailed account from 1803 further reveals that in the pre-colonial period, the carved stone rathas at Mahabalipuram were named after the Pandavas. However, the names he assigned two of the rathas in 1803 are not the same as the names they have been known by from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Those that we currently call the Arjuna ratha and Nakula Sahadeva ratha were known by different names in 1803. According to Laksmiah, the ratha currently named after Arjuna was previously known as the Nakula ratha, and the ratha currently named Nakula–Sahadeva (Figs 5.6 and 5.7) was called the Sahadeva ratha. As we have already seen, the name of the monolithic temple above the carved cliff face, which is today known as the Ganesha ratha, had a different name around 1800.[46] The accounts of both Boriah and Laksmiah conclusively show that it was previously called the Arjuna ratha. The name of this monolithic temple changed when the linga inside the Arjuna temple was removed and replaced with a sculpture of Ganesha some time between 1799 and 1803. When the old Arjuna ratha above the Arjuna's Penance carving was renamed, it was decided that one of the five stone rathas to the south should be renamed after Arjuna. Nakula and Sahadeva were the young Pandava twin brothers. They each had a ratha named after them until the early nineteenth century, when the Nakula ratha became the Arjuna ratha, and the Sahadeva ratha became the combined Nakula–Sahadeva ratha. The Nakula ratha was renamed soon after the Arjuna ratha was renamed the Ganesha ratha, showing that the naming of these monuments was related and extremely fluid.

Mackenzie's draftsmen drew architectural elevations for three of the five rathas. These drawings give precise measurements of the Bhima, Sahadeva (now the Nakula–Sahadeva), and Nakula rathas (now the Arjuna ratha) (Figs 5.6 and 5.8).[47] There are also drawings of the Dharmaraja ratha, but these are not architectural elevations. Instead, there are 11 folios of drawings depicting the sculpted figures and inscriptions carved along the sides of the ratha (Fig. 5.7). These drawings represent three tiers of sculpture along the four sides of the ratha. Laksmiah describes the Dharmaraja ratha as follows.

> South of it is the Chariot of Darma Rajah also cut out of one stone it is square it has 4 pillars there are 8 large images sculptured on its 4 sides facing the Cardinal points below- In the second story on a gallery running round it there are 21 small sculptured images; on its E: side one room was begun to be cut out but not finished; there are some ancient characters carved on this chariot on three sides which no one can understand.[48]

Perhaps the drawings of the Dharmaraja ratha sculptures were made because of the proliferation of inscriptions that accompany the sculptures. During the Mysore Survey, Mackenzie often arranged for inscriptions to be copied so that the facsimile drawings could be distributed to European colleagues who were interested in epigraphy (see Figs 2.5 and 2.6).

It was Mackenzie's Madras-based Indian translators who were truly adept at deciphering the grantha script found at Mahabalipuram. In 1828 Benjamin Babington authored an account of Mahabalipuram that considered the research of his predecessors.[49] In his analysis of other researchers' accounts, he clearly favoured those who copied out and tried to translate inscriptions

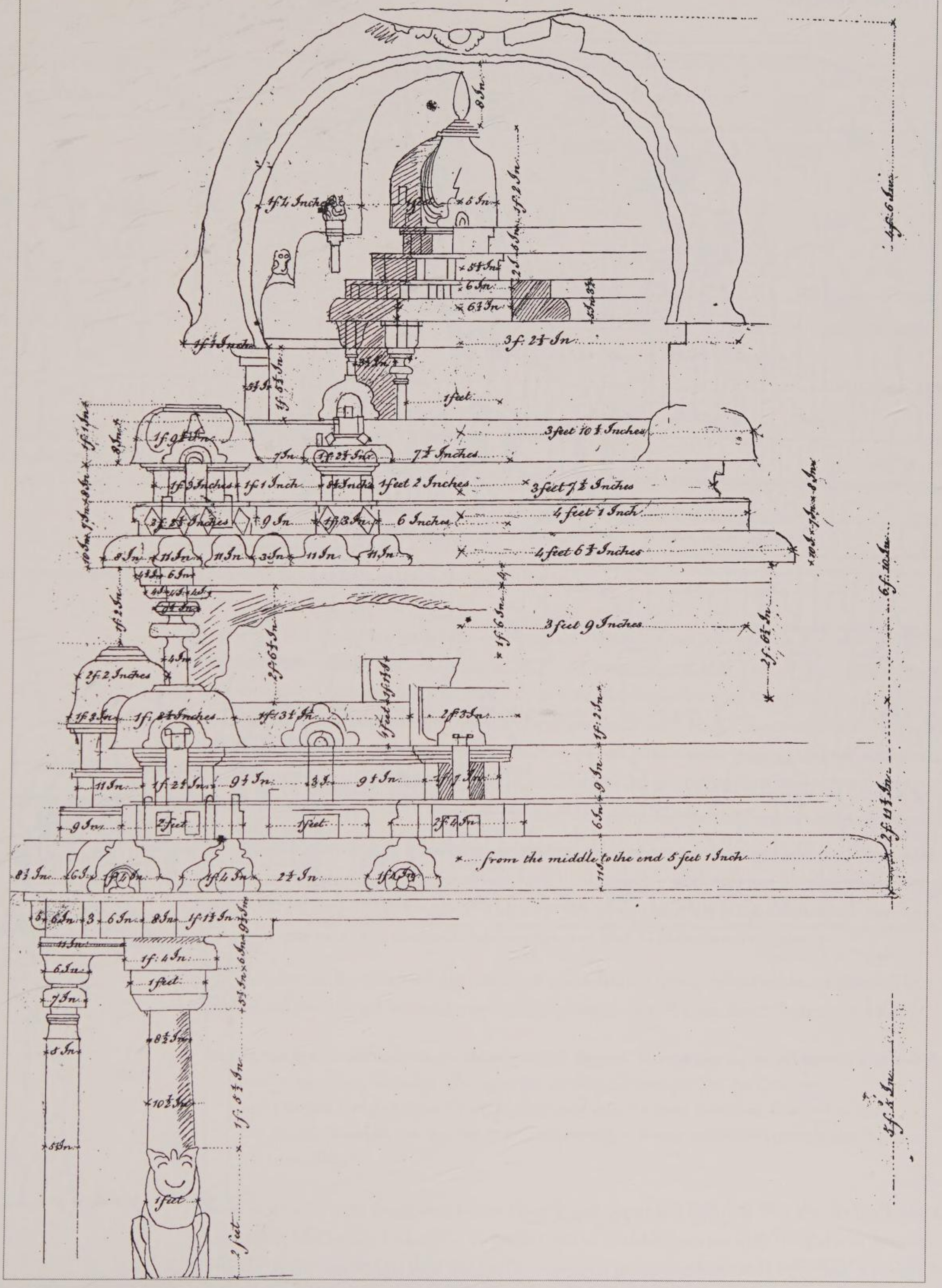


Fig. 5.6 Elevation of the Sahadeva Ratha (now called the Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha) at Mahabalipuram (WD1068, f.6)

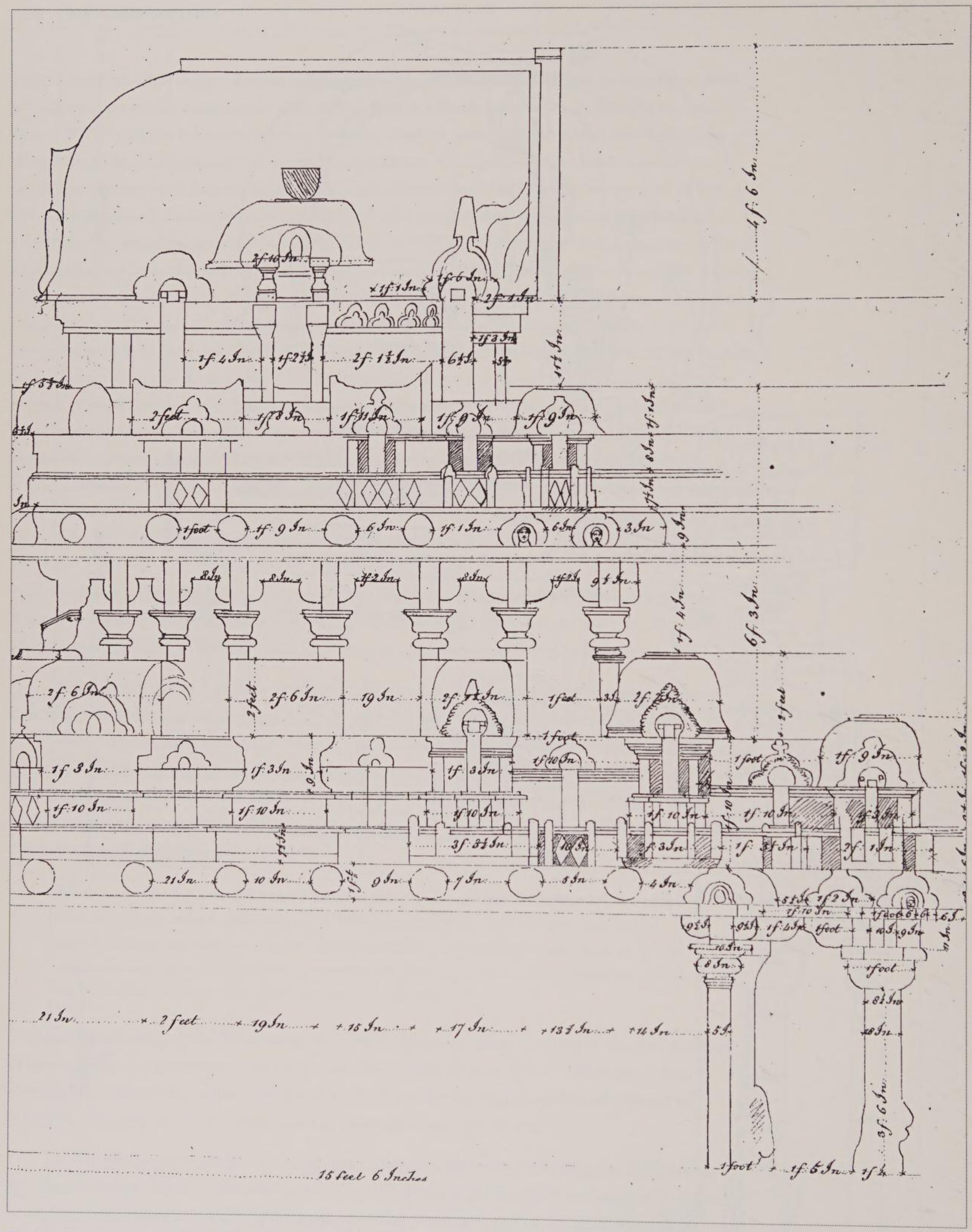


Fig. 5.7 Drawing of figures and inscriptions sculpted on the north side of Dharmaraja Ratha's second level. Copy by John Mustie of an original drawing, possibly by John Newman (WD1068, f.34)

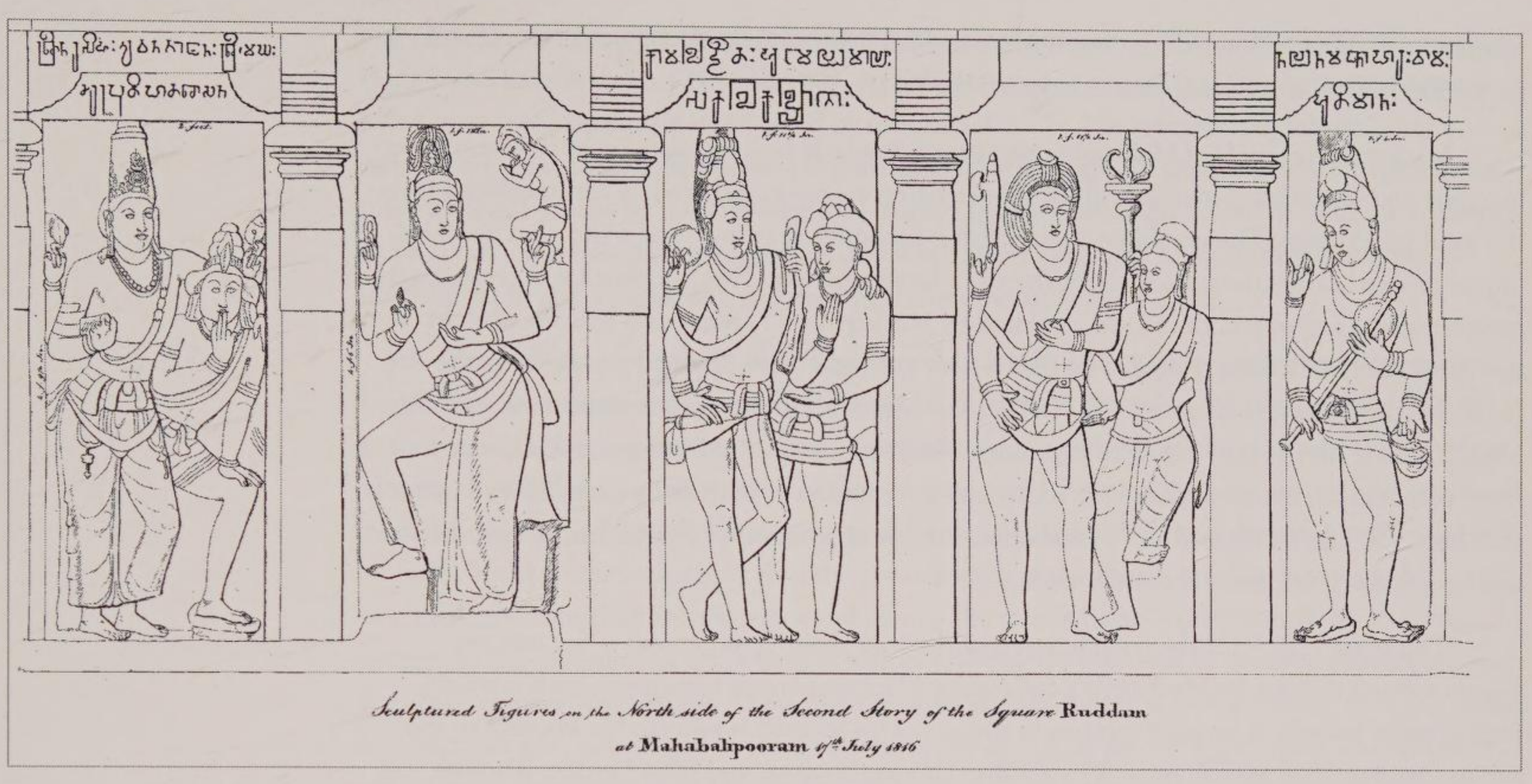


Fig. 5.8 Elevation of the Nakula Ratha (now called the Arjuna Ratha) at Mahabalipuram (WD1068, f.5)

to provide reliable historical evidence about the 'legendary accounts of the Brahmans…because they have not even preserved the memory of the language and character of the inscriptions which here abound'.[50] Babington acknowledged the role Mackenzie's translators played in deciphering inscriptions at Mahabalipuram through communication with one of those very men. 'One of the Jain Brahmans in the employ of Colin Mackenzie had such a knowledge of ancient characters somewhat similar to this [inscription in the Ganesha/Arjuna ratha] that on visiting the spot with me, he succeeded in deciphering a great part of this inscription'.[51]

Mackenzie's Indian translators were able to decipher grantha script and could translate passages from Sanskrit to English. Mackenzie's interpretive work was not possible without their hard work. Perhaps the drawings of sculptures on the Dharmaraja ratha that include careful copies of inscriptions were also studied by these highly skilled Madras-based translators.

Mackenzie investigated the history of south Indian ruling dynasties, as is indicated by a list of 'means of procuring historical materials' that was sent to his various colleagues in 1808.

> In the Southern Provinces, he [Mackenzie] is desirous of obtaining copies or originals of any native mss in any language relating to the Ancient Government of the Pandiyan and Chollah Kings or other Dynasties that have ruled in these countries; Several accounts are already obtained, but they are still defective and it is supposed further considerable lights are procurable.[52]

We do not know how much Mackenzie understood about the Pallavas. We also do not know to what extent Mackenzie linked his investigations at Mahabalipuram with the Pallava dynasty. However, it is conspicuous that the list of 'means for procuring historical materials' was sent out in the same year that the map of Mahabalipuram was drawn. Perhaps Mackenzie's team of Indian

translators deciphered some of the inscriptions at Mahabalipuram and Mackenzie was searching for further historical accounts connected with the Pallavas.

Mackenzie's records of Mahabalipuram are particularly fascinating because they combine mapping and surveyors' drawings with detailed written accounts gathered by his translators from the local inhabitants. The combination of written accounts, drawings, and a site plan provides unprecedented early information about the site's interpretation. This information constitutes the most complete survey record of a site explored by Mackenzie. There are two reasons why this site was particularly well documented. The first relates to Mackenzie's physical proximity to the site before his departure to Calcutta in 1817. The year before his departure Mackenzie was based in Madras, where he was busy trying to organize his collections prior to his move to Calcutta. Part of these preparations involved gathering additional information at Mahabalipuram. Since Madras is only about 50 kilometres north of Mahabalipuram, it was possible for Mackenzie to visit the site and keep himself informed about the work.

The other reason for the completeness of the Mahabalipuram records is the interest shown towards the site by Mackenzie's colleagues. Mackenzie must have given such research high priority because of broader interest in the site. This interest is reflected in his visit to the site in October 1803 with Francis Whyte Ellis, Thomas Strange, and John Leyden. Thomas Strange must have been particularly interested in the site because Mackenzie presented him with an album of drawings, the first 27 folios of which contain drawings of Mahabalipuram and the written accounts by Boriah and Lakshmiah.[53] The album was presented to Strange when he was the Chief Justice of Madras (1799–1816), possibly as a memento before his return to England. Unlike the Wellesley Mackenzie albums, the Strange album contains passages written in Tamil, suggesting that Strange was involved with Orientalist activities in Madras during the early nineteenth century. While in his capacity as Chief Justice of Madras, Strange studied indigenous legal practices in India. His findings were written after he returned to England and published in his book.[54] In the preface to this book he connects himself with such noteworthy Orientalists as Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837) and Francis Whyte Ellis (?–1819). Colebrooke, who spent most of his career in Calcutta, distinguished himself as a Sanskrit scholar and as the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1807 to 1814. Ellis was mainly based in Madras, where he was regarded as an accomplished scholar of Tamil and Sanskrit. He wrote papers on the Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam languages and was generally revered as an authority on the history of Madras Presidency.

Reappraising Mahabalipuram

The variety of investigative methods used by Mackenzie at Mahabalipuram is unique. He followed the routine, objective task of drawing and mapping the site, but also recorded the local communities' understanding of their history. One would ordinarily expect someone with an engineer's formal training to begin his investigations through surveying. Instead, Mackenzie began his enquiries by dispatching his Indian translators and gathering indigenous information about the site. It was only some years afterwards that he sent a survey team to Mahabalipuram. The information he accumulated was gathered over a 17-year period. The measured drawings and the map of the site were produced between 1808 and 1816, and were clearly informed by the

places and sculptures considered important in the local accounts gathered by the Kavali brothers, Boriah and Laksmiah, in 1799 and 1803. It took a long time to gather this information because Mackenzie was perpetually interrupted by his official duties. His research at Mahabalipuram reflects his tenacity to continue learning about a place through his unique method of procuring information. Perhaps he had the means to employ Indian translators before he held the authority to send out a survey team, or maybe his decision to send surveyors to Mahabalipuram was determined by the information gathered by Indian researchers.

We know far more about the translators than we do about the surveyors and draftsmen sent by Mackenzie to Mahabalipuram. The Kavali brothers were named in the documentation they gathered, so their contribution to these investigations was recognized. By contrast, the surveyors who produced plans and drawings of sculpture were a relatively anonymous group. This is perhaps partially due to the hurried circumstances under which the bulk of these drawings were gathered in 1816, but it certainly suggests that the contribution of the Kavali brothers was regarded as more important than the drawings and plans. The role of these Indian translators towards accumulating information about Indian history and culture is pivotal to ongoing debates on the nature of colonial knowledge. These debates question whether it is appropriate to view the Indian intellectuals who helped gather information for the British as passive informants, and if not, to what degree they contributed to the formation of colonial knowledge.[55] Information gathered by Mackenzie during the early nineteenth century relied heavily on the contribution of these men and the extant information collected by them at Mahabalipuram is a good example of this enterprise. The Mackenzie Collection is a rich source of raw material for researchers interested in exploring the nuances behind these debates.

In the early nineteenth century, Mackenzie's methods for collecting maps, plans, elevations, and line drawings were standard practice for antiquarian researchers. Before Mackenzie's efforts began, draftsmanship and trigonometry were already received western modes for gathering information. In the late eighteenth century the British were at war with the French in India and the French were employing engineers from the Corps Royal d'Artillerie to make maps and plans of important territories,[56] so the British responded to this competition by employing military engineers in Madras Presidency.[57] The value of cartography increased when William Lambton (1753/6–1823) founded the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in 1799. Likewise, the drafting of plans and line drawings was considered a valuable way of recording antiquarian investigations and continued into the late nineteenth century, even after the advent of photography. This is certainly the case for late nineteenth-century drawing collections assembled by prominent members of the Archaeological Survey of India such as Henry Cole (1843–1916) and James Burgess (1832–1916). The collections of both those men, as found in the British Library, all contain line drawings and plans in the same style as those collected by Mackenzie.

Another important facet of Mackenzie's Mahabalipuram research is its importance to the study of landscape, monuments, and sculpture in South Asia. Because there was no western understanding of the Pallava dynasty of south India at the time of Mackenzie's investigations, and because nobody had yet read the inscriptions on the monuments at Mahabalipuram when this research began, Mackenzie's investigations are the earliest recorded attempt to understand

this complicated site. At the same time, they provide vital information about how the site was perceived before the colonial period. The drawings and the map show how the site looked in the early nineteenth century, before colonial archaeology and tourism put forward new interpretations of Mahabalipuram. Mackenzie's written accounts show how the people who lived there interpreted their surroundings, as passed down to them by earlier generations. Mackenzie's research at Mahabalipuram was an honest attempt to understand the local community's relationship with the monuments. What makes his investigations even more remarkable is the link between the information in the written accounts and the drawings. Through Mackenzie's data, it is possible to resurrect an indigenous, pre-colonial understanding of the monuments at Mahabalipuram so that later interpretations can be reappraised.

Notes and References

1. 'Some Account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mavalipuram', vol. 1, pp.145–70.
2. For example, see P. Kaimal, 1994. 'Playful Ambiguity and Political Authority in the Large Relief at Mamallapuram', *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 24, pp. 1–27. Vidya Dehejia, 1997. 'A Riddle in Stone: Pallava Mamallapuram', in V. Dehejia, *Indian Art*. London: Phaidon, pp. 183–204.
3. B.J. Babington, 'An account of the Sculptures and Indscriptions at Mahabalipur', in M.W. Carr, *Descriptive and Historical Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast*. Madras: Govt Press, 1869, p. 46.
4. Ibid.
5. T.R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. In particular, see Chapter 3, pp. 73–115.
6. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.281.
7. *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 5, pp. 69–80.
8. Mackenzie 1808 b. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.287.
9. Ibid., f.288.
10. Ibid., f.313.
11. From here onwards, I will refer to one or the other of these two villages when quoting oral accounts.
12. Add.26568, f.6.
13. Add.29324, ff.1-13.
14. NLS, Ms 3380, f.98.
15. WD2624.
16. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.299.
17. WD1068.
18. W.A. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta: City Press, 1884, p. 183.
19. See Jennifer Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie and the Stupa at Amaravati', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 18, 2002, pp. 53–66.
20. The dated drawings are mainly found in WD1068.
21. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.294.
22. Mackenzie collected a plan and an elevation of the Varaha Cave (WD1068, ff.23–4). These are both reproduced in J. Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie, the Madras School of Orientalism, and Investigations at Mahabalipuram', in T. Trautmann (ed.), *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 74–109 as illustrations 3.6 and 3.7.
23. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.290.
24. Ibid., ff.281-282.
25. Ibid., f.282.

26. Ibid., f.311.
27. Ibid., f.282.
28. Ibid., f.313.
29. Ibid., f.287.
30. Ibid., f.295.
31. Ibid.
32. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.312
33. Ibid., f.299.
34. Ibid., f.305.
35. Ibid., f.281.
36. Ibid., f.284.
37. J.P. Vogel, 'Iconographical Notes on the Seven Pagodas', *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1910-11*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, pp. 49–62.
38. Kaimal, 'Playful Ambiguity and Political Authority in the Large Relief at Mamallapuram.'
39. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.301.
40. Ibid., f.284.
41. Goldingham also mentions the Arjuna ratha and the linga in J. Goldingham, 'Some Account of the Sculptures at Mahabalipoorum', *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 5, p. 69.
42. ASI booklet titled *Mahabalipuram*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1952, p. 24.
43. *Mahabalipuram*. New Delhi: ASI, 1952, p. 24.
44. Dehejia, 'A Riddle in Stone', p. 193.
45. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.286.
46. Ibid., f.300.
47. WD1068, ff.5-7.
48. Mss Eur Mack Gen 21, f.310.
49. Mackenzie and Chambers are both named in Babington's account.
50. Babington, 'An Account of the Sculptures', pp. 45–6.
51. Ibid., pp. 56–7.
52. NLS, Ms 8955, f.211.
53. Add.29324.
54. Thomas Strange, *Elements of Hindu Law*. London: 1825.
55. For new research on this topic see. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*; Phillip Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 45, 2003, pp. 783–814.
56. Lafont, Jean-Marie, *Chitra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 4–5, 60–1.
57. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun, Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. II, p. xv.

Chapter 6

The Later Surveys

1811 to 1821

In the last decade of his life, Colin Mackenzie travelled more extensively than he had at any other point in his career. He repeatedly journeyed up and down India's east coast between Madras and Calcutta, and towards the end of his life, when his health was deteriorating he went to Orissa to convalesce. He also journeyed inland from Calcutta, through the area then known as the Upper Provinces, which today covers Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, as far north as Haridwar, as far inland as Delhi, and all the way south to Panna. He also travelled to Southeast Asia, spending two years in Java, first as Chief Engineer of the Madras Forces during the Java campaign, and then as a surveyor and guest of Thomas Stamford Raffles. During this period Mackenzie also instigated his most detailed investigations at Amaravati and Mahabalipuram. Throughout these duties and projects Mackenzie continued to collect vast quantities of drawings.

The ambitious programme of travelling that characterized the last ten years of Mackenzie's life was the result of numerous changes in his role with the East India Company. At the same time, Mackenzie was struggling to shape the collections accumulated during the previous surveys into a more organized format. As the years passed and he was assigned new duties, his original plan to assemble a grand opus of materials on the history of southern India and to convey them back to Britain[1] must have looked increasingly unrealistic. From 1811 to 1815 the compilation of his Mysore Survey reports was interrupted by the expedition to Java and the assembly of his reports on Java. In a letter to William Erskine dated 16 October 1811, Mackenzie revealed his frustration at being interrupted from organizing his Mysore collections to take part in the Java campaign.

> I even brought my memoranda with me on board of ship [to Java], where in my portfolio hints for enquiries on points of Hindoo History, on ancient sculptures, and on old coins were to be found intermixed with indents for stores, lists of cannon and pay tolls of Lascars and Artificers…The events of the expedition however still disconcerted every literary project, and …all the intentions were postponed…[2]

By the time Mackenzie finished his reports on the Java Survey and returned to Madras to recommence the organization of his Mysore collections, his work was interrupted again by news of his appointment as Surveyor General of India, which required him to relocate to Calcutta. Organizing the move of all his possessions, and holding together his trusted entourage of assistants became a key focus of his work from 1815 to 1817.

Mackenzie's promotion to the post of Surveyor General of Mysore in December 1810, and his appointment as India's first Surveyor General in May 1815 meant that during the final stages of his career he had access to more resources. He could depute survey assistants to conduct fieldwork and employ more copyists to help organize his vast collections. One task he tackled was to organize loose folios of drawings into sequences and to copy many of them into albums. The drawings in the British Library's India Office Collections are mainly those that were in Mackenzie's private collections at the time of his death, but we know that he gave albums containing copies of the same drawings to institutions such as the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London.[3] Other albums were presented to individuals, such as Lord Minto, the Governor General while Mackenzie was in Java,[4] and to Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of the Madras Supreme Court in the early nineteenth century.[5] To understand the Mackenzie drawings, it is absolutely necessary to understand what Mackenzie was doing with his collections during that period. By tracing his movements and naming his draftsmen and copyists in Madras and Calcutta, one can untangle the sprawl of copied drawings and original sketches that clutter the Mackenzie Collection.[6]

Mackenzie's output during the final decade of his career is particularly astonishing since by 1811 he was in his late fifties. At such an age, most British men of his rank who were living in India were planning their retirement in Britain. However, Mackenzie continued with his career in India. No doubt, this decision was partially motivated by his personal circumstances. Many of his close relatives in Scotland, such as his father and elder brother, had passed away, so he had fewer family members to return to. Added to this, in 1812 he married a young woman who had never resided outside of the tropics, thus rooting his new family life more firmly in Asia. Most significantly perhaps was his desire to meaningfully collate his vast collections of manuscripts and drawings. His decision to continue working ensured that he would never return to Scotland, but it also meant that his collections could further expand and achieve a level of depth and semi-organization that might not have been achieved otherwise.

Another factor that motivated his work was his ambition. Mackenzie had campaigned since 1796 to be recognized by the Court of Directors in London for his inexhaustible service to the East India Company. In a letter dated 1797, we learn that Mackenzie '…applied last year (1796) for the appointment of Military Surveyor General on the Coast similar to the Office of that kind established for some years in Bengal, conceiving it would be useful for the Service...'[7] There were also financial issues behind Mackenzie's desire for promotion. In the 1790s a case was made to increase his pay so that it would more adequately reflect the kind of remuneration expected of the work he did.

> During the whole Mysore War tho' Capt Mackenzie executed several surveys the official plans will shew and actually gave up a Civil Survey to join the Army he never was allowed the common surveyors allowances (tho granted to others as Genl Medows repeatedly refused his consent) Should however this appointment of Military Surveyor General on the Coast not be approved of, for considerations which may not appear here; it is hoped that Capt Mackenzies claims to the notice and protection of his Honorable Employers will be recognised and notified to Government here to be recompensed in such manner as they may think he deserves agreeable to their practice and liberal encouragement of their Servants.[8]

Throughout the Mysore Survey Mackenzie continued to take issue with his inadequate salary.[9] In particular, from April 1805 to April 1807, during his most intensive period of collecting during the Mysore Survey, his pay was so low that he relied upon his private finances for his expeditions, and then unsuccessfully petitioned the East India Company to reimburse him.[10] Mackenzie's promotion to Surveyor General of Mysore was the culmination of a struggle lasting 15 years to be recognized, both financially and professionally, by the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

1811–13: Java

On 12 March 1811, almost immediately after his appointment as Surveyor General of Mysore, Mackenzie was ordered to accompany the Java expedition as the Chief Engineer of the Madras forces. He reached the coast of Java on 13 July 1811. Two months later, after the British had successfully captured Java, the army departed. With the assistance of Thomas Stamford Raffles, Mackenzie stayed to prepare a full geographical and statistical report of Java for Lord Minto, the Governor General.[11] In a letter dated 16 October 1811, Mackenzie told his friend, William Erskine, about the survey work he was about to commence.

> [I am] only now preparing by a little rest in Java to recruit my strength and proceed to some rapid enquiries before I leave this island for the much loved continent of India to which I look back with all the fondness of a native. I am permitted to remain here 2 or 3 months which I mean to devote if the weather permits to enquire into the History and Antiquities of the Island where I am told certain reliques exist in buildings and inscriptions that I shall be glad to see...[12]

These two or three months extended to almost two years. On 17 August 1813, Mackenzie completed his survey work in Java and returned to India along with his new bride, Petronella Jacomina Bartels, and her sister, Julia Bartels. We know little about Petronella Bartels except that she was born at Trincomalee, Sri Lanka. Her parents were Dutch, and she was only about 15 years old when she married Mackenzie in Batavia on 18 November 1812.[13] Mackenzie's decision to marry Petronella Bartels took his colleagues by surprise. In a letter dated 25 August 1813, Francis Whyte Ellis wrote to William Erskine,

> That strange whim of the Colonels in taking unto himself een Jonge Juffer not fifteen years of age is said, has surprised [v] all his friends here not a little—however attractive she may be, and we may indeed judge of her power by it's effects, I do not fear that she will 'overturn the other idols of his house'—they are too firmly established there to [be] easily expelled.[14]

As one would expect, the way that Mackenzie gathered information in Java was modelled after his work on the Mysore Survey. This is made explicit in a report written by Mackenzie titled 'Memorandum of the Means of procuring materials regarding the South of India'. In this memorandum, Mackenzie lists ten points of observation to be carried out in south India, including the investigation of languages, literature, oral histories, noteworthy monuments, and local systems of government. He concludes with a 'PS', that 'It should be observed that the investigations in Java may be considered a further application of the same plan'.[15] Because Mackenzie spent only two years in Java, he was never going to gather as much information as he

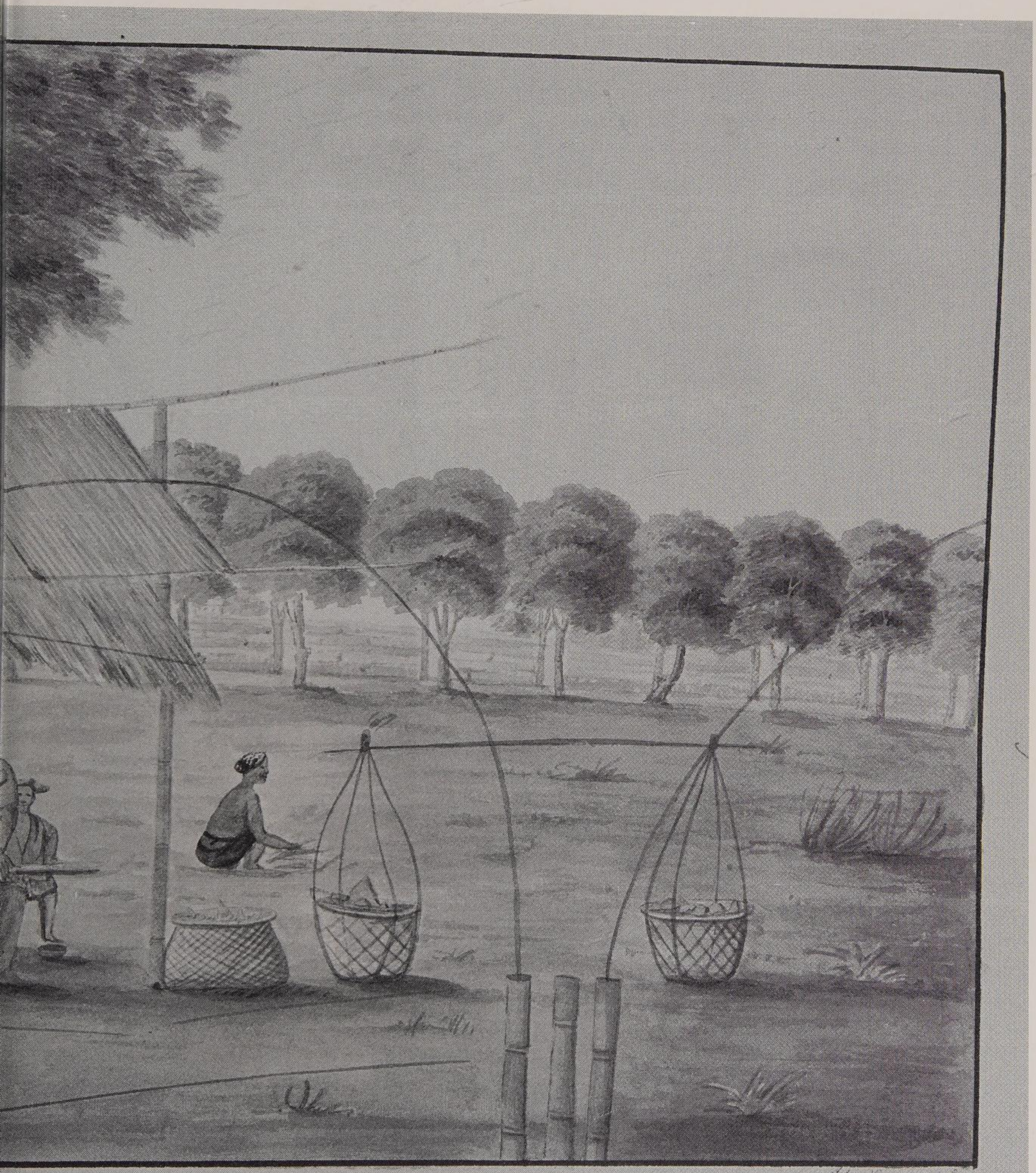
did in south India. However, the Java drawings capture the aims laid out in his memorandum far more succinctly than any other set of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection.

In particular, the Mackenzie Java drawings contain a human element by showing the kinds of customs encountered in Javanese daily existence. For example, one drawing dated 31 May 1813 shows a coffee stall with various customers standing near by, providing a unique glimpse of Javanese life (Fig. 6.1). Other pictures show how people holding power and influence lived, as is found in a picture of a Javanese grandee drinking refreshments with a Dutchman while two servants attend to them (Fig. 6.2). The drawings thus illustrate a wide spread of Javanese social groups and their customs, giving us an idea of how they dressed and behaved. The collection of drawings of people was a continuation of the collection habits Mackenzie adopted during the Mysore Survey when he investigated the occupations of people residing in Balla Ghat. Also in imitation of his Mysore based practices, Mackenzie collected line drawings of sculptures from historically important places in Java. At some sites he collected sets of line drawings that were copied and distributed to his colleagues. For example, Mackenzie's drawings from Prambana were copied by John Newman into at least two albums. One of these albums was part of Mackenzie's private collection, and the other was a report submitted to Lord Minto (Fig. 6.3).[16]

Mackenzie also carefully documented an inscribed stone from Java, which he shipped to Calcutta and presented to Lord Minto at Fort William.[17] A drawing of the inscribed Javanese stone is labelled as an 'Ancient Monument and Inscription from Malang with the costume of Munstrees and other official servants at Bangil 2 April 1812'.[18] Mackenzie wrote a letter to Lord Minto dated 11 April 1813 announcing the delivery of the inscribed stone to Calcutta. 'I have taken the liberty, thro the good offices of my friend Major Campbell, to have shipped on board of the Matilda a stone engraved on both sides, with Ancient Characters, in a high state of preservation.'[19] This was one of three occasions towards the end of Mackenzie's career where he removed in-situ monuments and sent them to influential people or institutions to draw attention to his research collections. The first time was in 1808, during the Mysore Survey, when he transported a black stone sculpture of Parsvanath from Gersoppa to London, where it was received by Charles Wilkins, the first Librarian of East India House (see Fig. 2.7). Perhaps in imitation of this, Mackenzie sent the inscribed stone from Java to Minto in Calcutta. It was not Mackenzie's habit to move stone monuments from different sites. The removal of the inscribed stone from Java to Calcutta, just like the sending of the Parsvanath sculpture to London, should be viewed as an attempt by Mackenzie to draw attention to his work and not as standard practice. The third occasion when Mackenzie removed in situ sculptures and presented them to his superiors was during the 1816–17 excavation of Amaravati Stupa.[20]

In 1813, when Mackenzie left Java, he went to Calcutta instead of Madras to prepare his reports on the Java expedition. The first report was submitted to the government on 10 November 1813, and the last was submitted in February 1815.[21] John Newman accompanied Mackenzie to Java as his personal draftsman and was most likely responsible for most of the drawings Mackenzie brought back from Java. To assist with the preparation of the drawings that accompanied the reports, Newman travelled with Mackenzie back to Calcutta.

Fig. 6.1 A Javanese coffee stall, 31 May 1813. Copied by John Newman (WD953, f.82)



Temporary Coffee Stall — Conongo Lari house

Fig. 6.2 A Javanese grandee drinking refreshments with a Dutchman while two servants attend to them (WD953, f.99)

1813–14: The Upper Provinces

In the midst of completing the Java reports in Calcutta, Mackenzie was granted leave from his official duties to tour the Upper Provinces in the company of Lady Maria Elizabeth Frederica Hood (1783–1862), from December 1813 to September 1814. She was the wife of Admiral Sir Samuel Hood and the daughter of Lord Seaforth, Baron Mackenzie of Kintail. Lord Seaforth was the chief of Clan Mackenzie, and was the main landowner of the Island of Lewis where Mackenzie's extended family lived. Seaforth was also Mackenzie's main patron when he first arrived in India. Mackenzie had corresponded with him throughout his time in India, and had sent him money to administer to his family in Lewis as remittances.[22] Mackenzie probably knew in advance about Lady Hood's arrival in Calcutta and was obligated to offer his services to her as a guide. She arrived in India in the early part of 1813 and before coming to Calcutta toured western India with Robert Melville Grindlay as her guide.[23] She was an avid sportswoman and claimed to be the first European woman in India to have shot a tiger.[24] Her aristocratic background, along with her marriage to an admiral and her adventurous disposition made her an important person to the Governor General. When Lady Hood requested that Colin Mackenzie should accompany her on a tour of the Upper Provinces, Mackenzie's application for leave was duly approved. The reasons Mackenzie gave in his request for leave were 'motives of private business, and on account of my health'.[25]

Because this journey was not connected with official government business, it was recorded mainly through drawings and not through local investigations and the gathering of manuscripts.

19th January 1809
Gigantic Statue. Two at each of the 4 Avenues leading up to
the Grand Central Temple of Chandi Sewa
near Prambana
19 January 1812

Fig. 6.3 Drawing of a guardian sculpture on the approach to the Great Temple at Chandi Sewu, Prambana, Java, 19 January 1812. Copy by John Newman. Inside an album presented by Colin Mackenzie to Lord Minto (WD953, f.29)

One of the few manuscript accounts of this journey is an alphabetical list of place names titled 'Memoranda of remarkable Places, Objects, etc. noticed or to be noticed on the Tour into Hindostan'.[26] This document is little more than a list of places, so the drawings collected by Mackenzie during the journey provide the most reliable, complete account of the tour. In particular, an album of drawings documenting the monuments and sculptures encountered during the tour of the Upper Provinces in 1813–14 was assembled and deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[27] Although a copy of this album was not sent to London, there are loose drawings in the India Office's Mackenzie drawings that are connected with the journey. John Newman went with Mackenzie and Lady Hood and prepared many of the field drawings from the journey. Although most of the original field drawings are missing, fair copies based on the original Newman drawings were prepared by Christian Ignatio in Madras, and by Pyari Lal and Shaikh Abdullah in Calcutta.

The dated drawings from this journey begin at the journey's outset in mid-December 1813 and ended in August 1814. Parts of the journey can be traced by dated drawings in the British Library, most of which were taken in the first few weeks of the journey. There are other drawings in the Mackenzie Collection that are from places visited during the tour with Lady Hood, but these either bear dates that do not correspond with the journey or are not dated. Nevertheless, by the style of the fair copies made by Ignatio, Pyari Lal, and Shaikh Abdullah, one can work out which of the undated drawings formed part of the set from the 1813–14 tour.

Mackenzie and Lady Hood departed from Calcutta on 14 December 1813. On 24 December John Newman drew a Maratha ascetic travelling towards Varanasi.[28] By showing a human subject rather than a monument, this picture echoes the kind of documentation that Newman assembled for Mackenzie in Java, and that Monisse gathered during the Mysore Survey in Balla Ghat, both of which dealt with human subjects. It also seems significant that Newman drew a picture of a man who was travelling in the same direction as Mackenzie and Lady Hood. Two days later, on 26 December 1813, Lady Hood and Mackenzie reached Hazaribagh, 300 kilometres northwest of Calcutta, where Newman made a drawing of the Mahadeo Temple (Plate 31). Coincidentally, Robert Smith of the Bengal Engineers drew a picture of the very same temple in November 1813, while journeying east towards Calcutta.[29] It may well be that Smith and Mackenzie saw each other in Calcutta in early December, shortly before Mackenzie's departure with Lady Hood. Maybe Robert Smith shared the details of his eastward journey with them, and influenced the early part of their itinerary through the Upper Provinces.

In January, Mackenzie and Lady Hood went to Bodhgaya, Gaya, Barabar caves, and Sasaram.[30] Mackenzie collected watercolours of the Vishnupada Temple at Gaya (Plate 30),[31] the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodhgaya (Plate 32), and a detailed picture of a Pala sculpture at Bodhgaya.[32] These watercolours are all done in the same hand, and two of them bear Persian inscriptions that identify the artist as Bhavani Baksh.[33] On the backs of all four pictures, the initials 'J.C.M.' are inscribed. This may have been the name of another person in Lady Hood's entourage. Mackenzie also journeyed to Vaishali (Basarh) in Mizzarfurpur District and saw the Ashokan pillar at Tirhut. We know that Mackenzie saw this monument because he carved his name onto it, alongside the name of Reuben Burrow, the surveyor and astronomer who visited the site in 1792.[34] Mackenzie also took a sketch of it (Fig. 6.4).

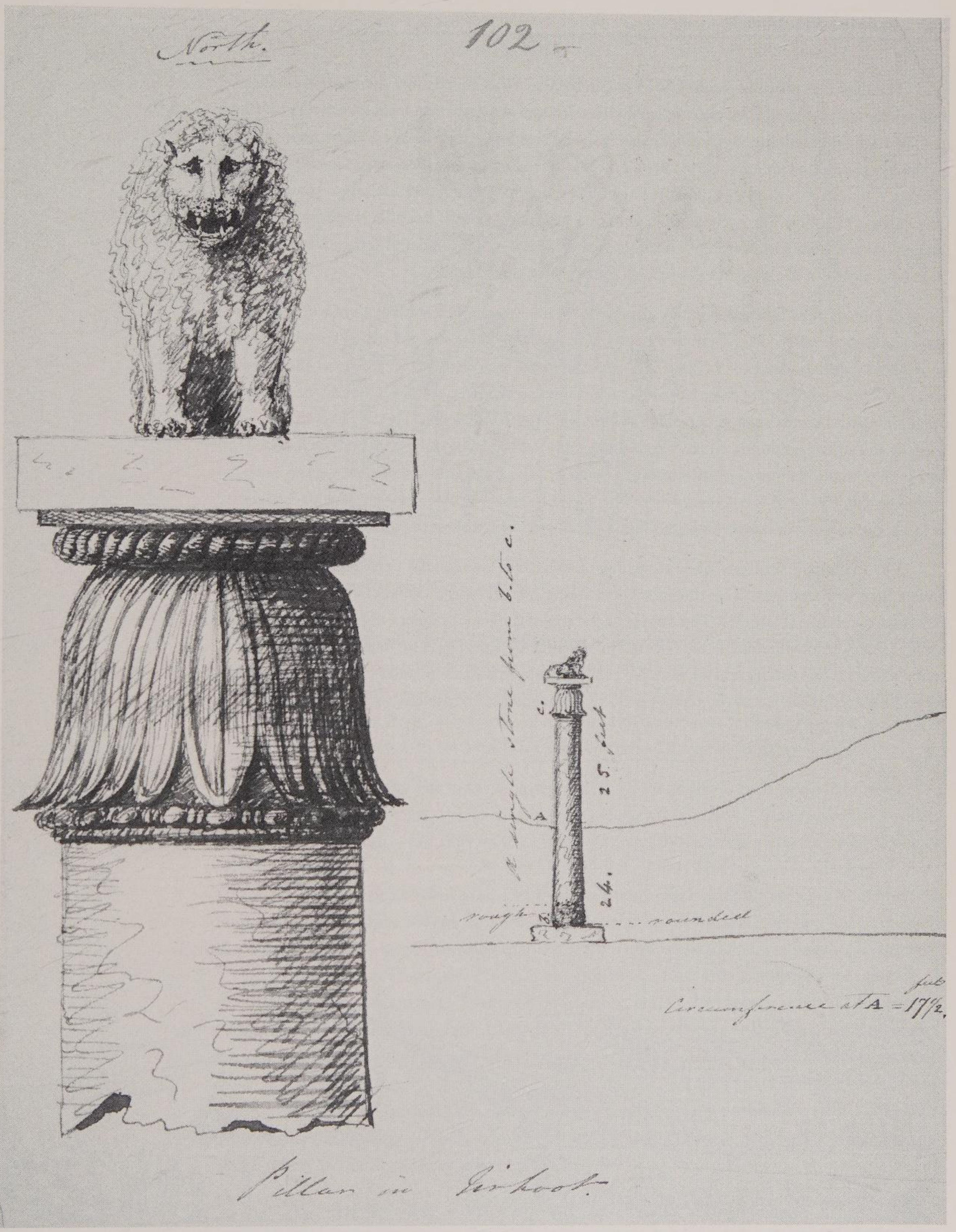


Fig. 6.4 Sketch of the Ashokan column at Tirhut (WD832)

The drawings taken in January 1814 at the Barabar Hills are possibly the earliest extant pictures to record that site. Mackenzie would have known about the site from an article published in 1784 in the first volume of *Asiatick Researches*. The article, by John Herbert Harrington, focuses on the inscriptions inside one of the caves, and is followed by a translation of the inscription by Charles Wilkins in the same volume. In 1814 Mackenzie collected several sketches from the site. One of these (Fig. 6.5) was worked into a fair copy showing a view of the hills, with the entrance to the famous Lomas Rishi cave.[35] Other sketches show the sculptural detail surrounding the door (Fig. 6.6), a plan of the site, and a sketch of the ornately carved ceiling.[36]

In January they reached Sasaram. A pencil and ink sketch of Sher Shah's tomb documents the exact date of their visit as 6 January 1814 (Fig. 6.7). This sketch was the model for a fair copy by Shaikh Abdullah dated 1819 (Plate 33). Unfortunately, the original sketch did not include any notes about the colouring of the tomb and the surrounding landscape, and Shaikh Abdullah, being unfamiliar with the monument, depended completely on the uncoloured sketch as his model, without any colour notations, to produce his fair copy. Instead of showing the tomb surrounded by a pool of water, the fair copy interprets the surface of the water in the sketch as a grassy lawn. Added to this, the tomb is coloured white. This was the standard colour used by Shaikh Abdullah in fair copies whenever colour notations failed to tell him what colour to paint a monument.

On 9 February, probably while travelling up the River Ganges, the party passed by the Fakir's Rock at Sultanganj. This dramatic rocky island juts out of the Ganges near the town of Sultanganj in Bihar (Plate 34). The temple at the top of the rock is a place of pilgrimage and the rocky surfaces below the temple are covered in Vaishnavite carvings. The British admired this rocky island for its sanctity and picturesque beauty. It was first made popular by William Hodges when he published a view of the temple in 1787.[37] An aquatint of the Fakir's Rock was also

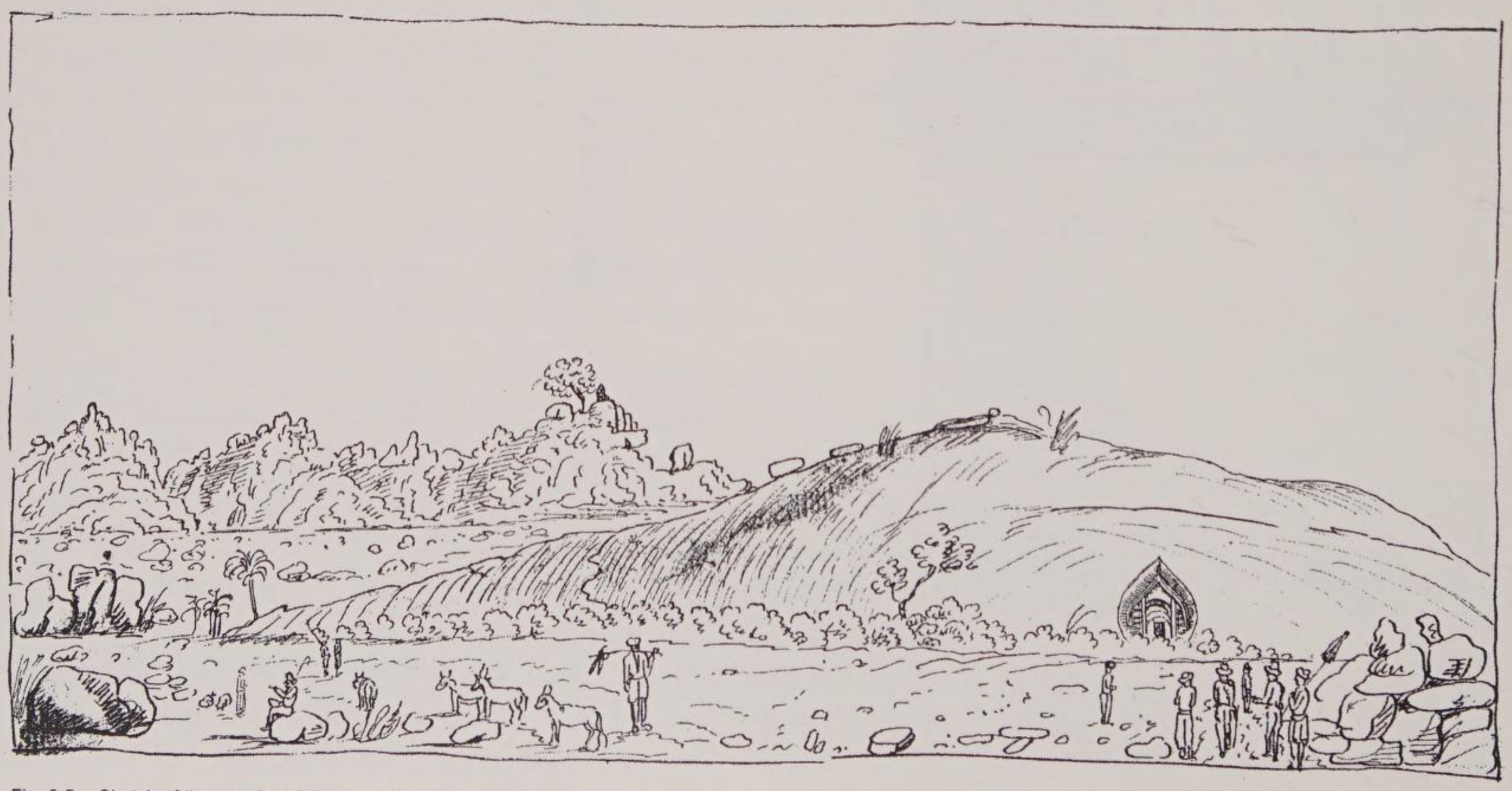


Fig. 6.5 Sketch of the exterior of the Lomas Rishi Cave, Barabar Hill (WD759)

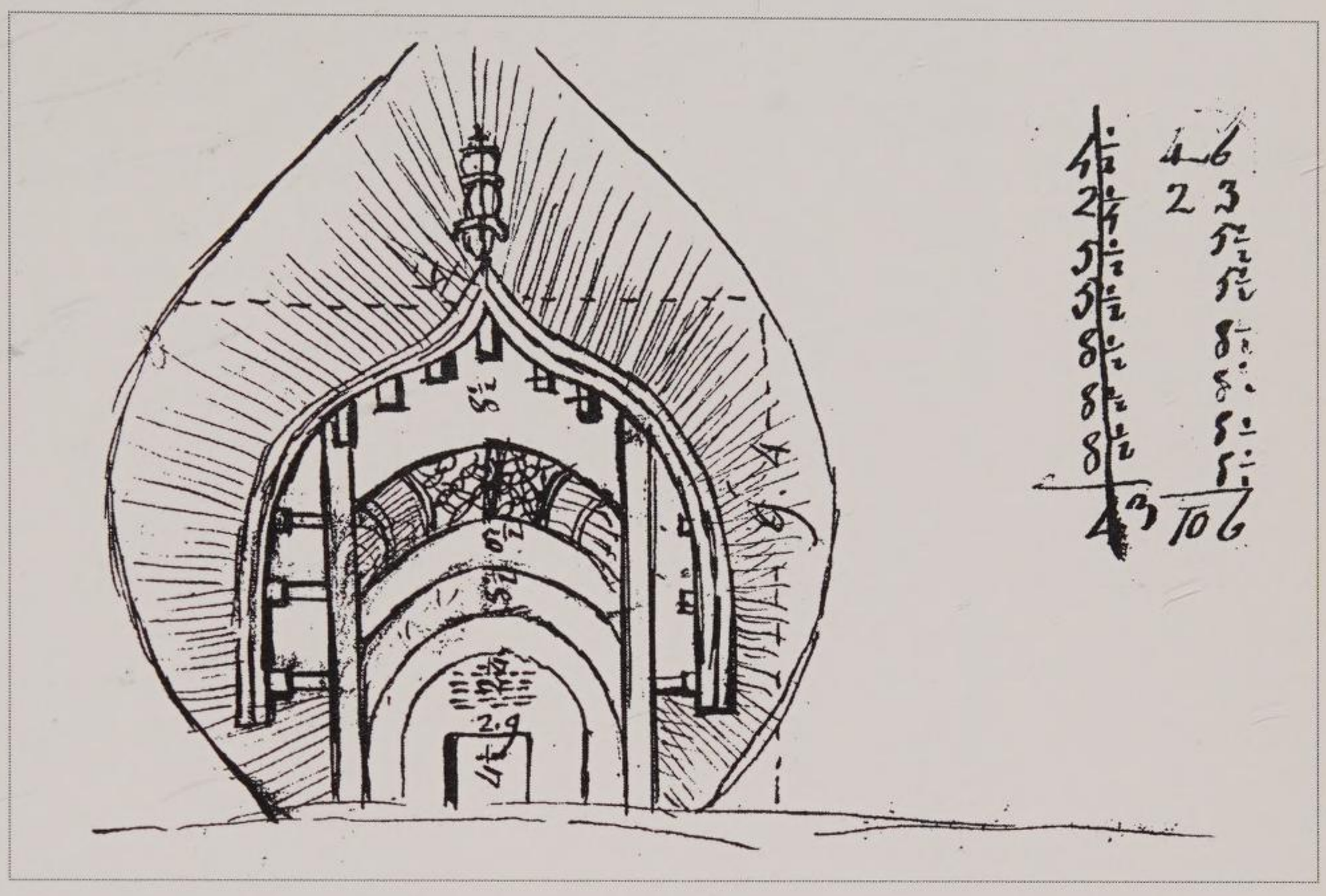


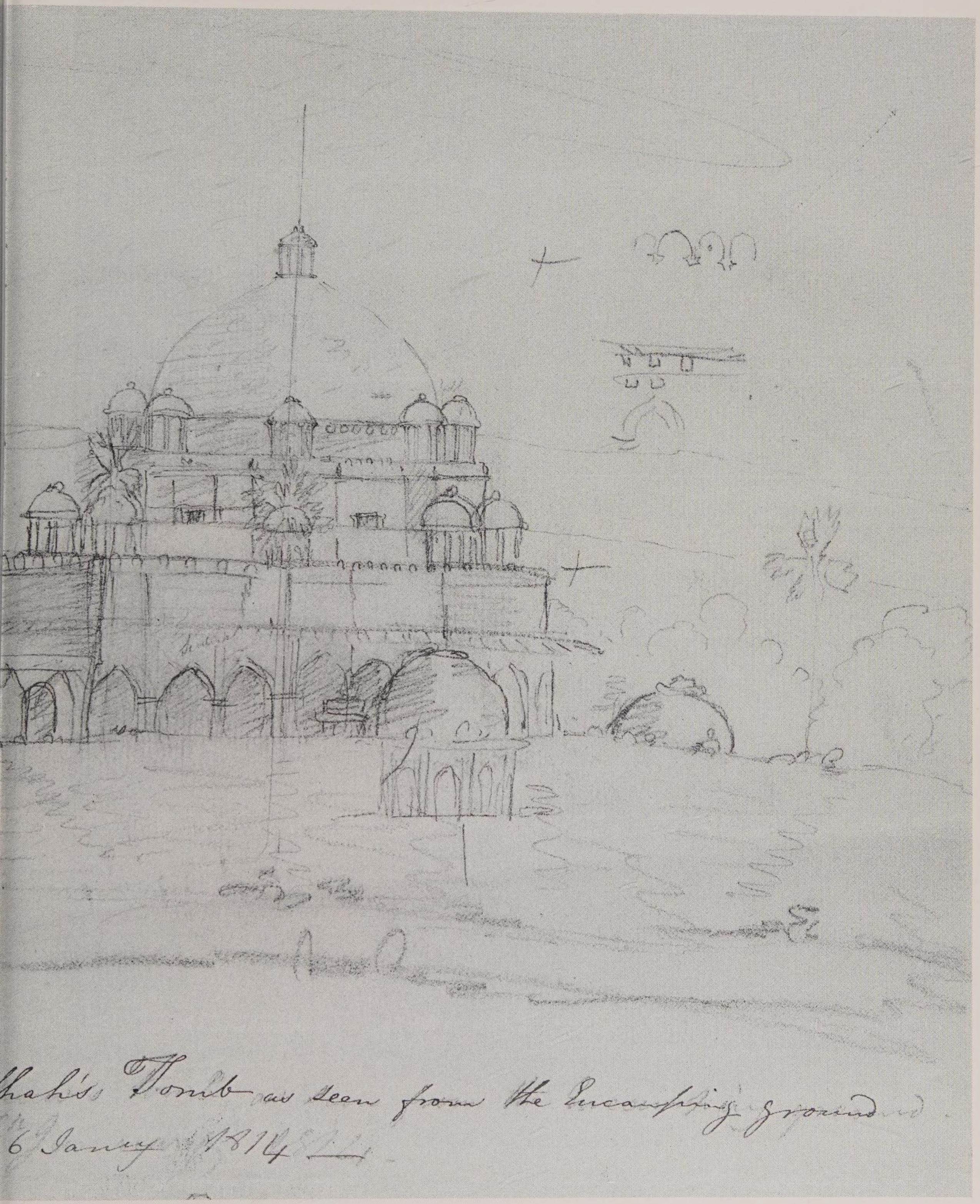
Fig. 6.6 Sketch of the main doorway into the Lomas Rishi Cave (WD823)

published by Thomas and William Daniell in the fifth volume of *Oriental Scenery* in 1800. It was obviously a well-known point of interest for anyone travelling up the Ganges, thus making it a notable spot on British travel itineraries. By mid-February Mackenzie and Lady Hood had reached Varanasi. An account from Lady Hood's diary tells us that she went to Sarnath on the morning of 16 February 1814 along with Mr Bird[38] and a sketch of the Dhamekh stupa was taken.[39]

By March the party was in the vicinity of Delhi. Two sketches, both dated 1814, were taken of the tomb of Ghiyas'ud-Din Tughluq at Tugluqabad (Fig. 6.8).[40] Shaikh Abdullah worked these two sketches into a fair copy in 1819 (Plate 35), and this fair copy dates the original visit as March 1814. Just like the fair copy by Shaikh Abdullah of Sher Shah's tomb at Sassaram (Plate 33), the fair copy of Ghiyas'ud-Din Tughluq's tomb was based on a sketch that did not give any notation to indicate the colour of the monuments. Because Shaikh Abdullah had never seen the tomb and had no way of knowing that the tomb is clad with red and white stone, he painted it a grey-white colour. The original tomb is also difficult to view from any distance because of the high wall that surrounds it. Contrary to this reality, and in the absence of any information about the tomb, Shaikh Abdullah's fair copy shows the tomb at the centre of an imaginary grassy landscape. There are other pictures in the Mackenzie Collection of Tugluqabad by another artist showing the enormous fortified walls that surround the site, but these are dated July 1813, several months before Mackenzie and Lady Hood's journey began.[41] These sketches are signed 'JS', and are probably the work of J. Smith, who also painted a water colour of the Qutab Minar in Delhi which is now in the Royal Asiatic Society's library.[42]

In the final five months of the tour, from April to August 1814, there are fewer drawings in the British Library that record the journey. However, a few drawings give an idea of other sites

Fig. 6.7 Sketch of Sher Shah's tomb, 6 January 1814. This sketch was later made into a fair copy by Shaikh Abdullah in 1819 (WD758)



Shahi Tomb as seen from the Encamping Ground.
6 January 1814

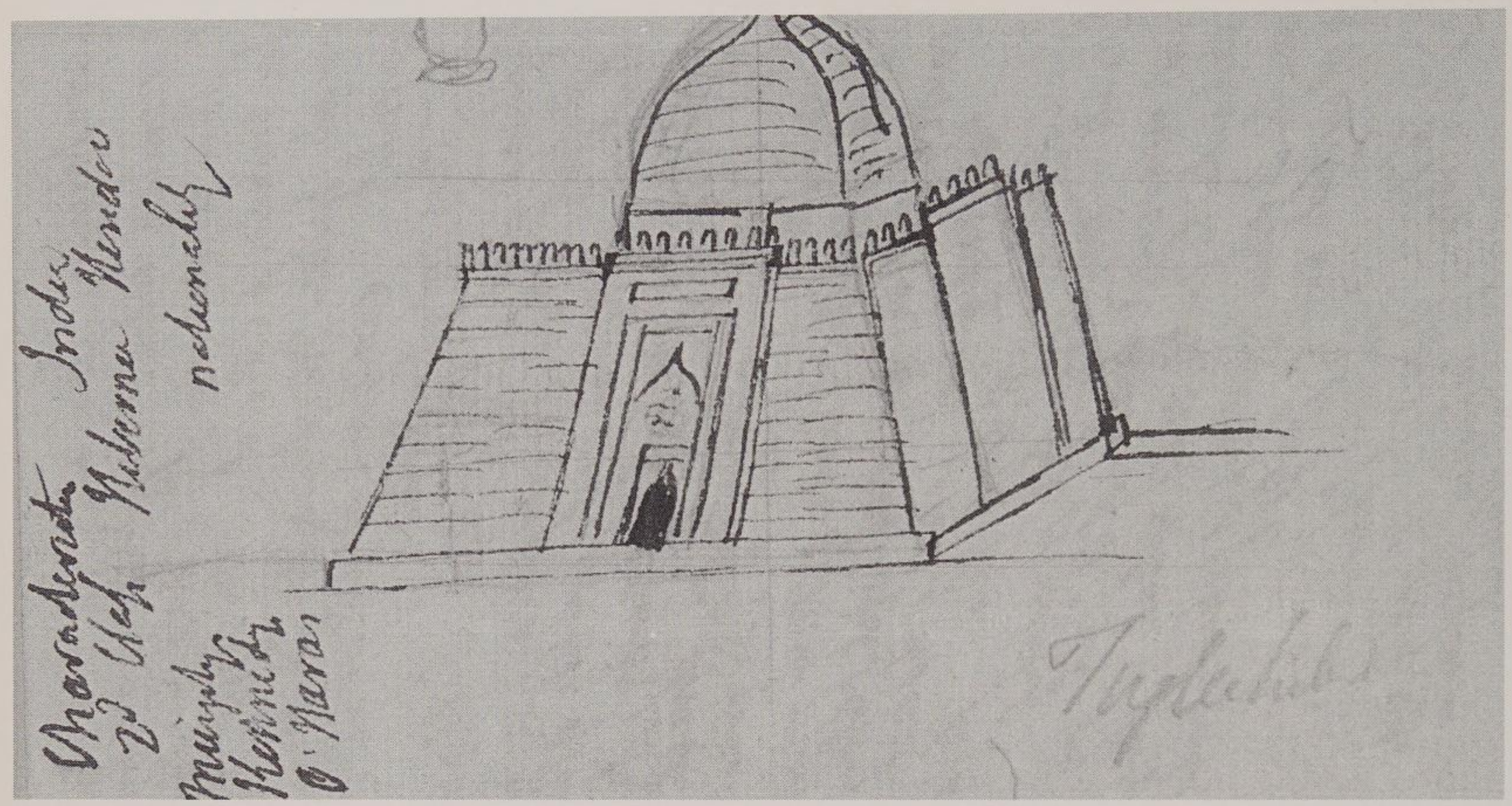


Fig. 6.8 One of the sketches dated 1814, of the tomb of Ghiyas'ud-Din Tughluq at Tugluqabad. Shaikh Abdullah worked these sketches into fair copies in 1819 (WD812)

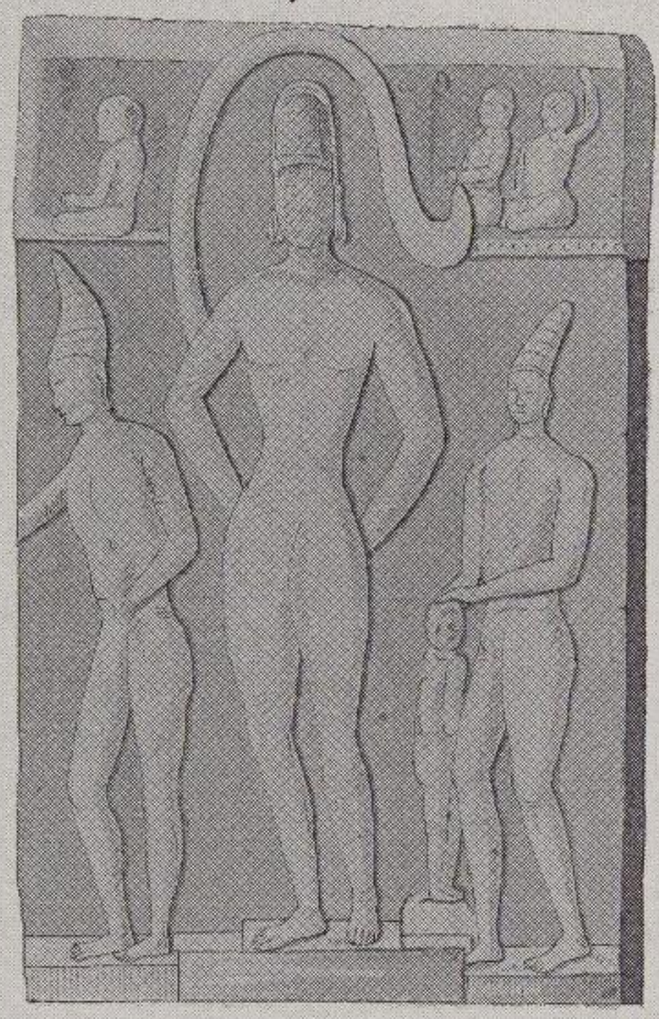
Fig. 6.9 A sketch of snow covered mountains, Chandi Pahar, 10 April 1814 (WD789)

Ancient Sculpture

found near a Well at

Dampore *in* ROHILCUND

April 1814.



The figures are much mutilated & defaced

& the small figures above particularly doubtful.

The Trishoolum at Chanda Paar *opposite to* HURDWAR

April 1814.

Fig. 6.10 Fair copy watercolour of monuments seen in April 1814. A sculpted stone at Rohilkand and the Trisula at Chandi Pahar, near Haridwar (WD705)

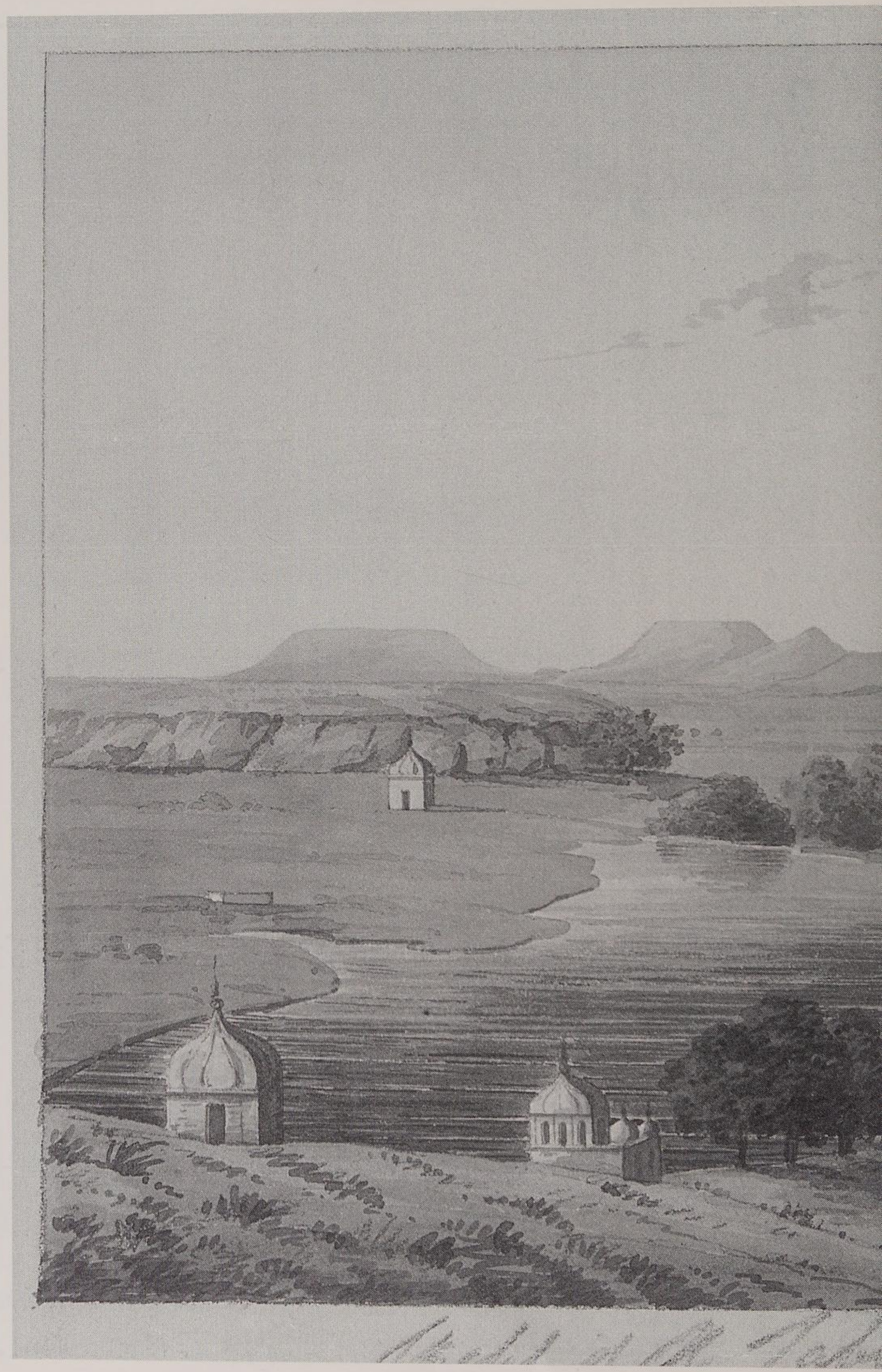


Fig. 6.11 Fair copy of the tank and palace at Panna, dated May 1814 (WD715)

explored during this period. In April, with the approaching hot weather in Delhi, Mackenzie and Lady Hood moved north into the Himalayan foothills. Drawings were taken of the mountains at Chandi Pahar, near Haridwar (Fig. 6.9) and of some Shaivite monuments (Fig. 6.10).[43] In May it appears that Mackenzie moved south, possibly without Lady Hood, who might not have enjoyed travelling south during the hottest part of the year. Mackenzie took drawings at Kalinjar, showing the fort and its surroundings.[44] Another drawing collected in May 1814 gives a view of Panna (Fig. 6.11) and a drawing dated 19 June of that year was collected at Chunar, on the River Ganges.[45] In August a drawing was taken of the temple at Sultanganj in Bihar, probably during Mackenzie and Lady Hood's return to Calcutta.[46] These drawings may give a patchy record of the last five months of the tour, but they certainly show the formidable distances that Mackenzie covered.

After the tour of the Upper Provinces, Mackenzie returned to Calcutta where he continued working on his reports on Java. In February 1815 he submitted the last of the Java reports and began preparing for his return to Madras. The tour of the Upper Provinces requires further study, as the drawings in the British Library would be better understood if considered alongside the album 'Drawings of Sculptures collected on a Journey into the Upper Provinces of Hindustan in 1814' held in the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta.[47] Perhaps some of the gaps in the British Library's Mackenzie drawings of the tour are illustrated in the Asiatic Society's album.

It is unclear whether Petronella, Mackenzie's young wife, came on the journey through the Upper Provinces. Perhaps she remained in Calcutta with her sister Julia. If Petronella did come on the journey, perhaps the initials 'JCM', which appear on the pictures taken at Bodhgaya and Gaya by Bhavani Baksh, refer to her middle name, Jacomina. There is other evidence that links young Mrs Mackenzie with this journey. There are two drawings that are now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society that remained the private property of Petronella after Colin Mackenzie's death. One of these shows a view of the Qutab Minar in Delhi by J. Smith and the other is a picture by an Agra-based artist of the Govind Deva Temple at Vrindavan.[48] These two pictures must have been Petronella's personal property because they were deposited at the Royal Asiatic Society by her second husband, Robert Page Fulcher, in 1824. The pictures in the Society are in a different style from the other Mackenzie drawings made during the tour of the Upper Provinces.

1815–17: Madras

Once back in Calcutta, Mackenzie continued to write his reports on Java. Immediately after submitting them in February 1815, Mackenzie left Calcutta for Madras. He travelled by sea, reaching Madras on 30 March 1815. In his words, 'I chose on this occasion to proceed by Sea in preference to a land journey for greater expedition'.[49]

There are a series of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection, dated between March and June 1815, which document an overland journey along the east coast of the subcontinent, from Calcutta to Madras. The drawings were primarily by John Newman and were copied at a later date by Christian Ignatio, Pyari Lal, and Shaikh Abdullah. The places visited during the 1815 journey are documented by dated drawings of sculpture in two Mackenzie albums,[50] and some loose drawings. We thus know that Newman travelled overland to Madras in 1815 and not by ship as Mackenzie did. Newman's journey entailed visits to Jajpur, Cuttack, Konarak, Vishakapatnam, and Simhachalam. The only draftsman named in any of these drawings is John

Fig. 6.12 Fair copy of the Siva Temple at Jajpur, dated 20 March 1815 (WD682)

Newman. Perhaps he disliked sea travel, or maybe Mackenzie told him to take the overland journey so he could take drawings and make enquiries on his behalf. Possibly during his southward journey Newman also ventured to Amaravati to assess how to begin the survey of the site that started the following year.

According to the dates on the 1815 drawings, Newman's journey down the east coast began in early March 1815. By 7 March Newman was in Jajpur, to the north of Cuttack.[51] A view of the Siva temple at Jajpur, dated 20 March 1815, is the subject of a fair copy produced in Calcutta by Shaikh Abdullah in March 1819 (Fig. 6.12). There are also sketches of the sculptures inside the Jajpur Siva Temple in an album of drawings titled 'Journey from Bengal thro' the Woodia and Calinga Dasum to the Coast of Coromandel'.[52]

In early April Newman stayed in Bhubaneswar for a week[53], then travelled back to the coast to Konarak, where he drew some of the sculptural detail on the exterior of the famous Surya Temple known then as the 'Black Pagoda' (Fig. 6.13). Although this appears to have been the first time Mackenzie sent a draftsman to Orissa, there is another drawing of the temple at Konarak in the Mackenzie Collection dated 1809 (Fig. 6.14). This unsigned drawing must have been made by one of Mackenzie's colleagues who made the same journey six years earlier. In April 1815 Newman

Figure of a Lion upon an Elephant

in front of the North Gate of the Temple

at **Kunnaruc** *near* **JUGGURNAUT**

21st April 1815

Fig. 6.13 Sketch of a lion sculpture in front of the north gate of the Surya Temple at Konarak, 24 April 1815 (WD1066, f.9)

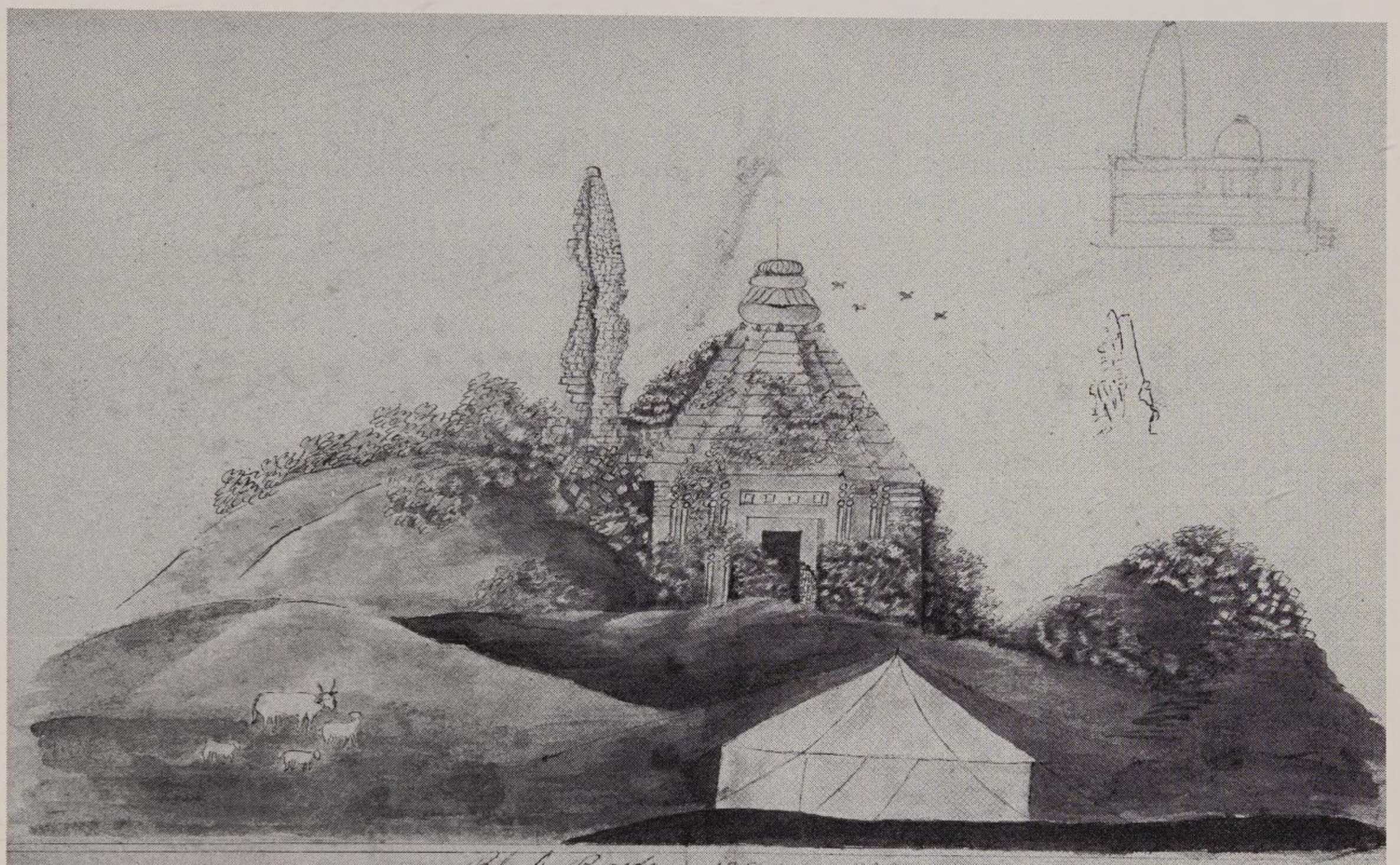


Fig. 6.14 Sketch of the Surya Temple at Konarak, 12 December 1809, showing the remains of the original *shikara*. A tent in the foreground perhaps indicates where a survey team set up camp (WD748)

also went to Puri and saw the temple of Jagganath (Fig. 6.15). In May he reached Cuttack and executed two drawings giving different views of the mosque. One of these drawings, showing the mosque's interior, is dated 20 May 1815.[54] The other drawing, showing the mosque's exterior, is not dated, but it is a copy of a Newman drawing made in Calcutta by Shaikh Abdullah (Plate 36).

By June, Newman had travelled south of Chilka lake and on 24 June he was at Visakhapatnam.[55] On 30 June he reached Simhachallam where line drawings, in the style of those produced during the Mysore Survey and the Java Survey were prepared of columns and sculpture inside a temple (Fig. 6.16). The drawings from Simhachallam are dated 3 July[56] and the drawings from Vijayawada are dated 24 August 1815.[57] Newman's drawings from this journey show that Mackenzie regarded him as more than just a draftsman. Perhaps Newman was being trained to succeed Mackenzie as both a researcher and organizer of the Mackenzie Collections.

While Newman was travelling along the east coastline documenting monuments and sculpture, Mackenzie was dealing with serious business back in Madras. On 26 May 1815 it was announced that he would become the first Surveyor General of India. In preparation for his permanent departure from Madras, Mackenzie had to organize his life's work for transport to Calcutta. For the next two years Mackenzie tirelessly strove to complete his work in the south, and to move all his collections to Calcutta. These preparations were an acute source of anxiety for him. In a letter he wrote in April 1816, he said, 'It would mortify me much to leave this

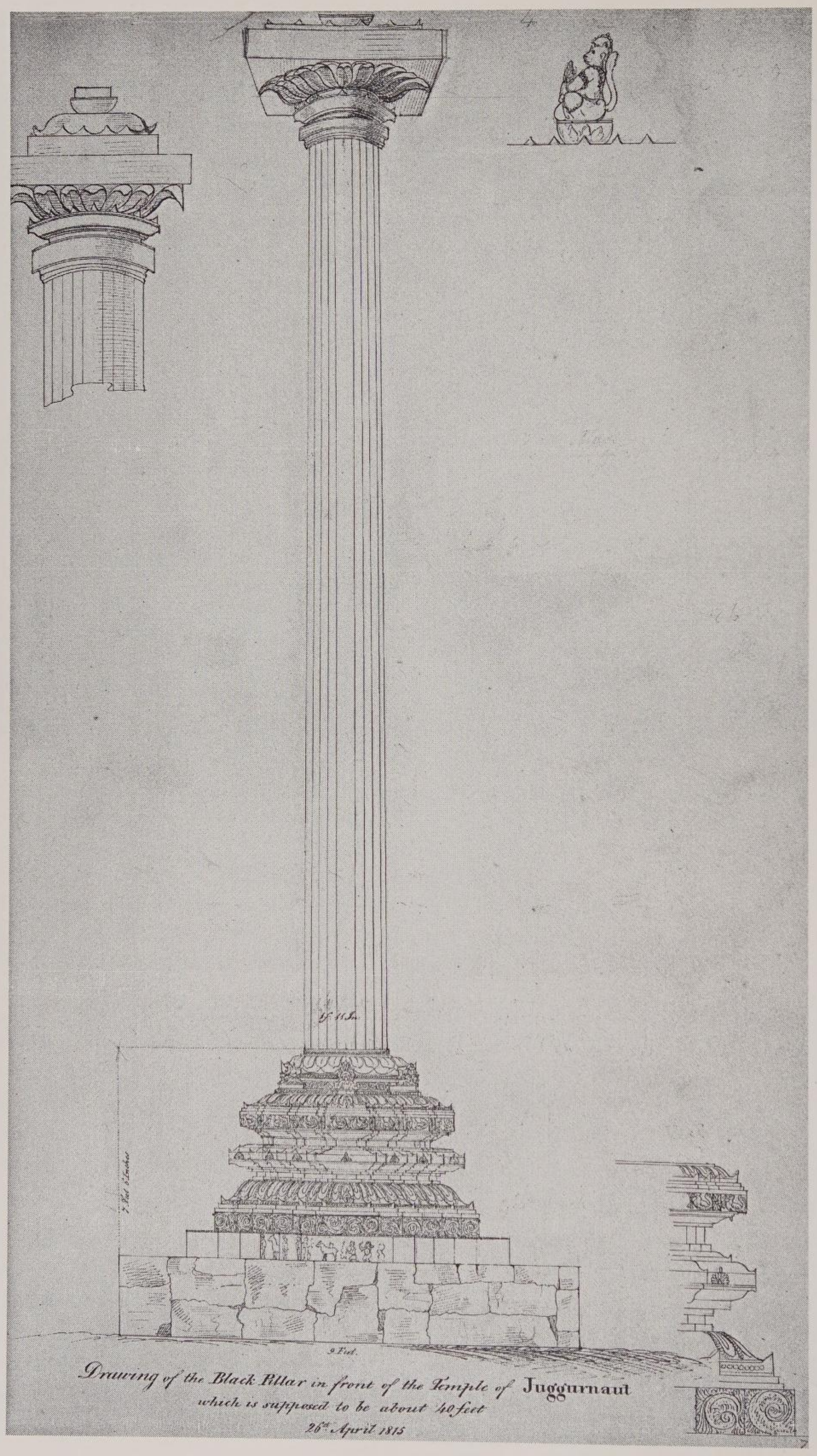


Fig. 6.15 Sketch of the Black Pillar in front of the Jagganath Temple at Puri, 26 April 1815 (WD1066, f.7)

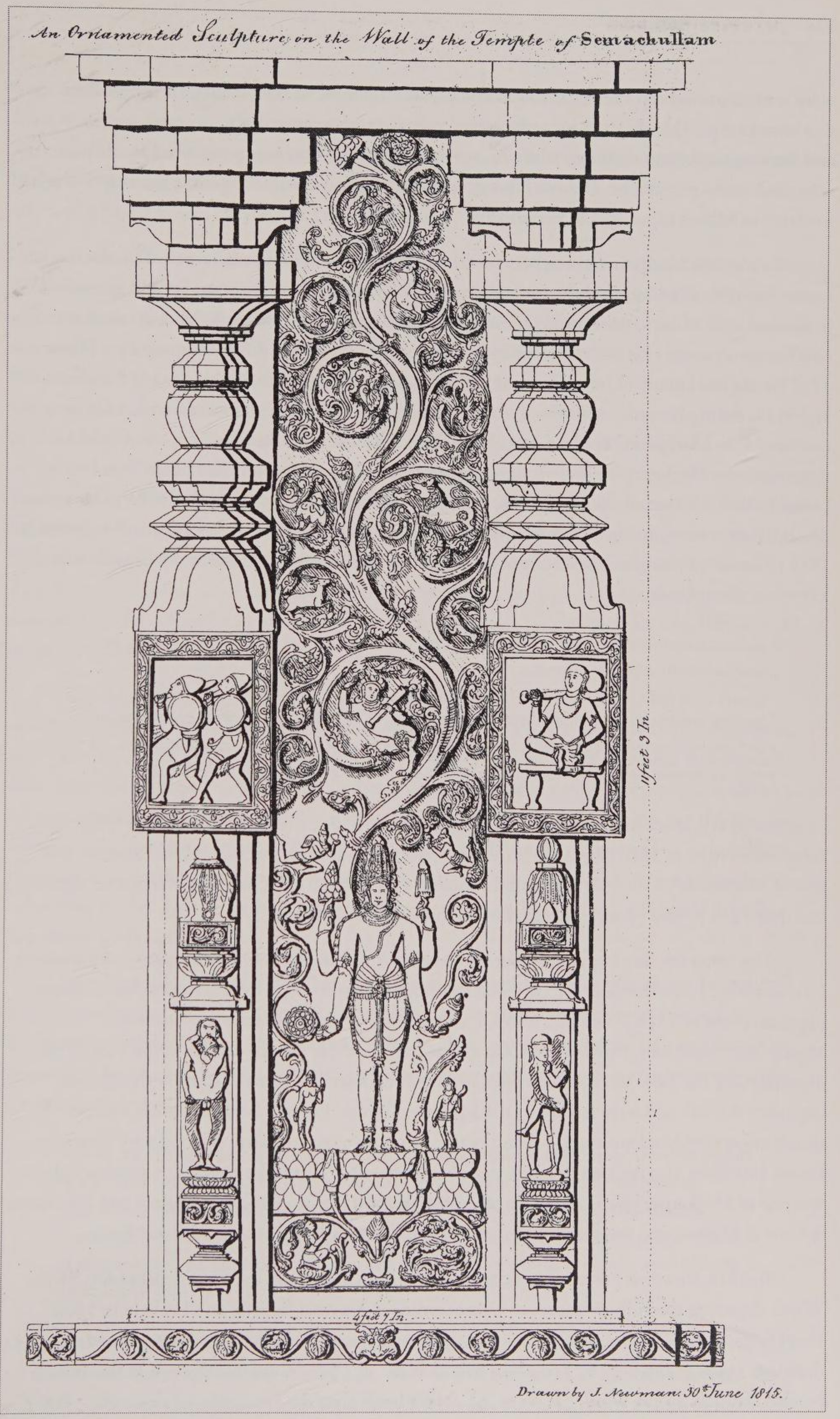


Fig. 6.16 Sketch of a sculpted wall inside the temple at Simhachallam, 30 June 1815. Drawn by John Newman (WD1066, f.17)

work undone, on which I have bestowed much pain; it almost sickens me, but it approaches to a conclusion'.[58] He directed his assistants to prepare and organize his many manuscripts and drawings into bound albums while he went about selling his property in Madras. He also commissioned a portrait by Thomas Hickey (see Plate 1) and tried to complete the surveys he had initiated at Mahabalipuram and Amaravati.[59]

In Madras, Mackenzie's copyists embarked upon an ambitious programme of producing fair copies based on drawings made as early as the 1780s. In particular, Christian Ignatio generated huge quantities of fair copies based on early Mackenzie drawings, such as a drawing taken by Mackenzie soon after his arrival in India, between 1787 and 1788, of Bellamkonda Fort (Plate 37). He also had many of John Newman's drawings copied, particularly those made between 1814 and 1815, during his journeys through the Upper Provinces, (Fig. 6.17) and down the Orissa coastline.[60] In 1816 John Newman was also assigned the task of making fair copies of field drawings from Mackenzie's previous surveys (see Plate 12). Ignatio was invited to come to Calcutta with Mackenzie, but decided to remain in Madras. Two years later, after John Newman's death, Ignatio was considered momentarily as a replacement.[61] However, in a letter dated March 1819 to Francis Mountford, head of the Surveyor General's Office in Madras, Mackenzie said the following about Ignatio.

> I am really apprehensive that he [Ignatio] would ultimately hang heavey on our hands, as I know he was involved at one time.
>
> I enclose you his letter: in confidence. I do not much like it, nor his ignorant coarseness in mentioning his complaints, which would require the Scott's remedy of a scrubbing post. As senior draftsman he had the first choice of coming round, but he foolishly declined it…[62]

Needless to say, Mackenzie did not send for Ignatio in 1819. Instead, Newman was replaced by John Stuart May in 1820. We have little information about May, but we do know that he was part of Mackenzie's Calcutta-based establishment by 13 April 1819, as this was when he signed and dated a copy of a picture by John Newman (see Plate 28).[63]

The other two key copyists working in Madras immediately before Mackenzie's departure to Calcutta were John Mustie and John Gould. Amongst Gould's repertoire are drawings of temple plans executed in 1816 (Plate 38), and a drawing of one of the sculptures at Amaravati.[64] Mustie came with John Newman to Calcutta, and it was there that he produced the bulk of his drawings (see Fig. 5.8). Just like Newman, Mustie and Gould were recruited from the Madras Orphan's Asylum and were trained at the Military Asylum. Perhaps because Mustie had no family except for Mackenzie and his entourage, he chose to go to Calcutta along with Newman. Henry Hamilton also decided to move to Calcutta, possibly for similar reasons. It appears that he was one of Mackenzie's older assistants who attended the Madras Orphan's Asylum and the Survey School at Madras, and was responsible for training other junior draftsmen such as Mustie.

In 1816 Newman prepared fair copies of two drawings taken in 1806 by Benjamin Swain Ward, depicting the hilltop statues of Gomatesvara at Sravana Belgola and Karkala in 1806 (see Plates 19 and 20). According to John Newman's notes, these fair copies were based on drawings made in the field by Benjamin Swain Ward in 1806. Ward was the son of the British painter, Francis Swain Ward.[65] It seems no coincidence that the fair copies of these two views

were made in the same year that Thomas Hickey began work on his iconic portrait of Colin Mackenzie (see Plate 1). The background of Hickey's portrait is based on the fair copy view of Karkala. If Mackenzie was considering placing either the landscape of Sravana Belgola or Karkala in the background of his portrait, then this would explain why both these pictures were made into fair copies by Newman. Maybe Mackenzie suggested a selection of backgrounds to Hickey.

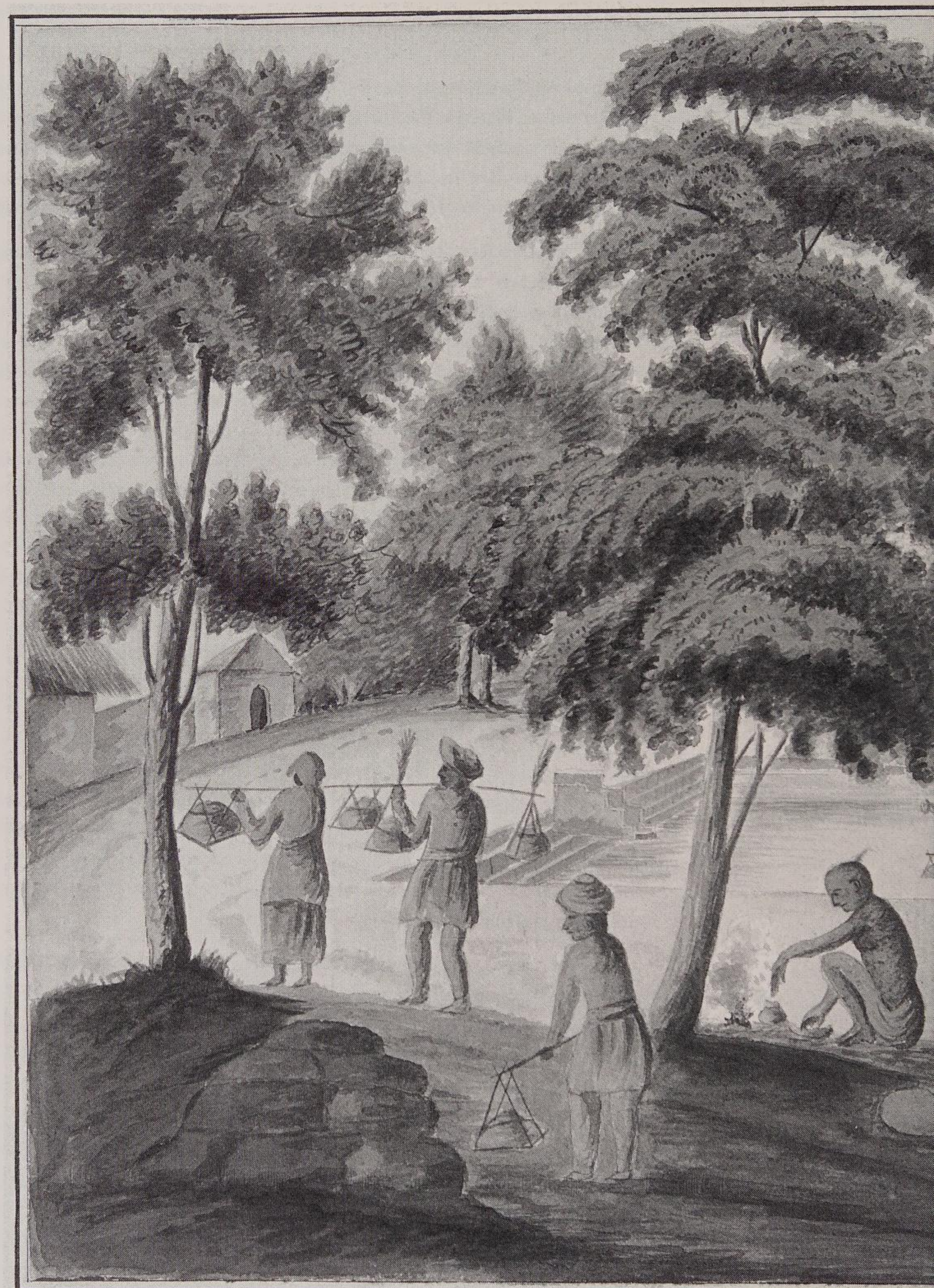
Thomas Hickey's oil painting of Mackenzie was made between 1816 and 1817, immediately before he left Madras for Calcutta to take up his post as Surveyor General of India. The painting was clearly made in Madras, where Thomas Hickey was based between 1812 and 1824. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the portrait is the landscape of Karkala in the background, which has consistently been misidentified as Sravana Belgola.[66] Just like at Sravana Belgola, the principle image at Karkala is a colossal figure of Gomatesvara at the top of a hill. There are three drawings in the Mackenzie Collection identical to view of Karkala, one of which is labelled as a 'View of the rock at Carcull and the first appearance of the Gigantic Statue of Gomut-Ishwar on its summit, May 1806'.[67] As can be seen by the fair copies by Newman (see Plates 19 and 20), the backdrop of this painting actually bears no resemblance to Sravana Belgola. In particular, the hills in the background are completely different, and the Gomatesvara sculpture at Sravana Belgola is only visible from the middle of the torso upward because of the walled arcade surrounding the colossal sculpture. The view depicted in the Hickey portrait's backdrop could simply not be of Sravana Belgola.

The most intriguing feature of the Karkala landscape, which probably led to it being selected as the painting's background, is the survey pole next to the sculpture of Gomatesvara (see Plate 19). The significance of including this survey pole in the background is enhanced when one realizes that it is still there. Perhaps Mackenzie's surveyors left behind such survey poles all over Mysore, but this one, standing conspicuously at the top of the hill next to the statue of Gomatesvara, made it a significant backdrop for this portrait. Part of the rod has now fallen down, but most of it is still standing with the help of a concrete base (Fig. 6.18). It is curious that the measuring rod left behind by Mackenzie and his survey team has become integrated into this important Jain pilgrimage site.

Selecting this background for his portrait was also significant for Mackenzie because it connected with his private research on Jainism. During the Mysore Survey, Mackenzie distinguished himself as the first European to write about the Jain religion. He considered this research to be one of his finest achievements and often mentioned it in correspondence with Orientalist scholars.

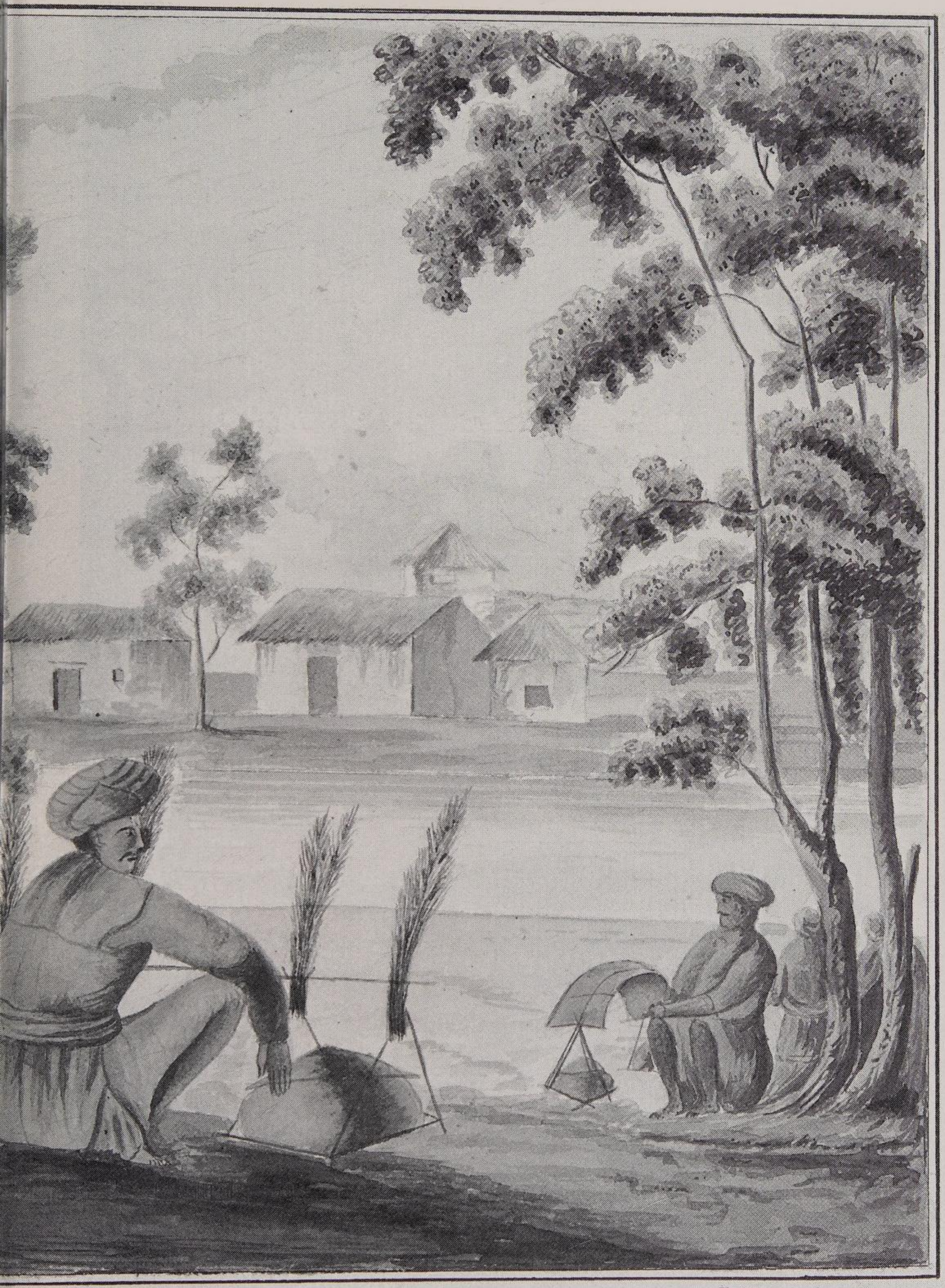
> You are by this time perhaps informed if not already acquainted of this sect, from the papers in the 9th Volume of Asiatic Researches; they assert that at one period, they were in possession of the letters and science of India, and of all Asia; and whatever maybe the foundation of their claims to the superior Antiquity of their opinions and Philosophy to that of the present description of Brahmins, their opinions at one time, evidently seem to have pervaded all India.[68]

Mackenzie was able to pursue his interest in Jainism and other scholarly topics during his work on the Mysore Survey. Standing side by side, the rod and the statue at Karkala represent the connection between the Survey and Mackenzie's scholarly pursuits. It was a stage of his career



Original by J. Newman 1815.

Scene at **Mogul Serai**



Copied by C. Ignatio

ENARES January 10th 1814

Fig. 6.17 Fair copy of pilgrims at Mughal Sarai by Christian Ignatio, 1816. Original by John Newman, 1815 (WD861)

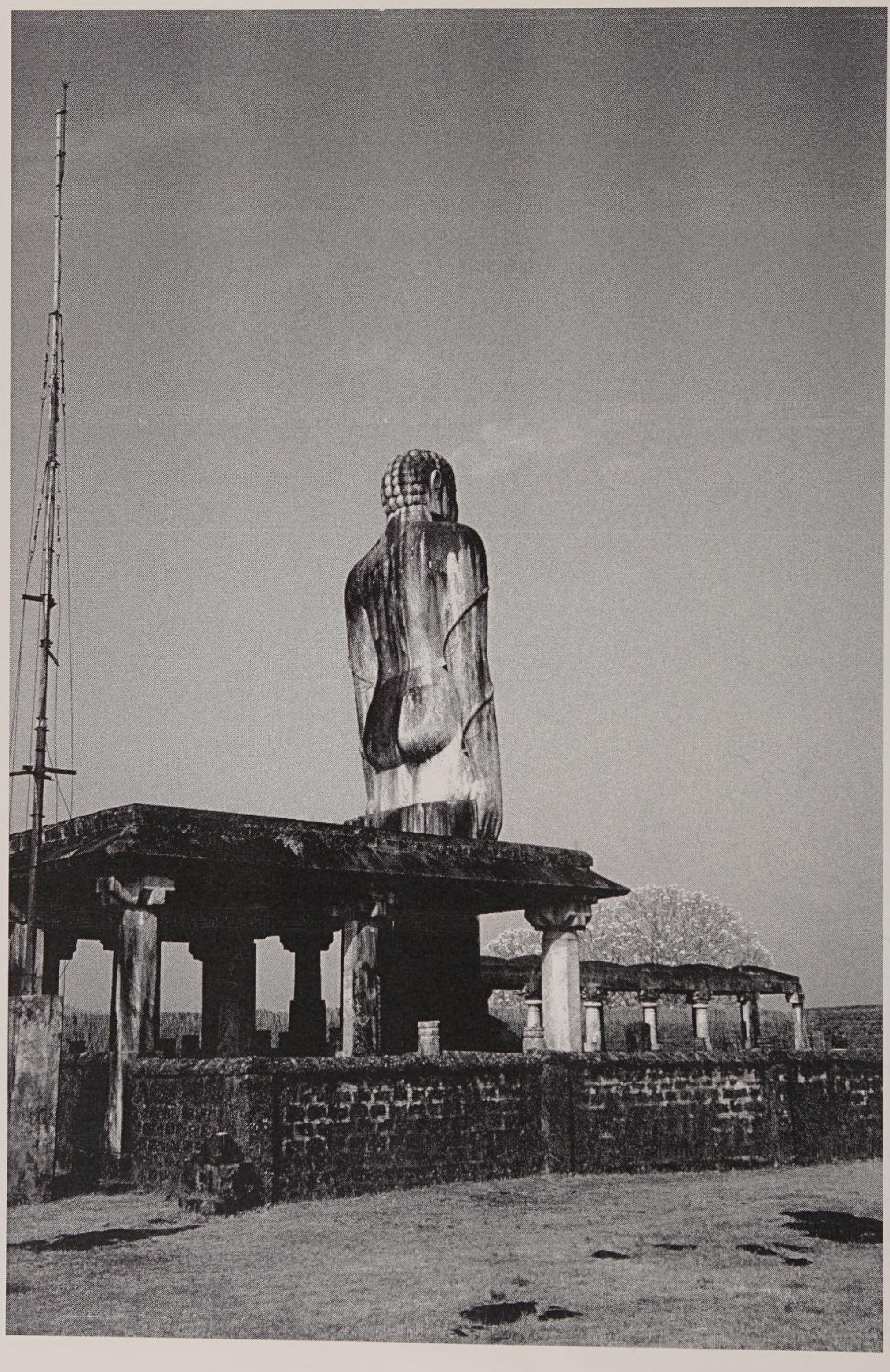


Fig. 6.18 Photograph taken in 2002 of the Gomatesvara sculpture on the hilltop at Karkala. Behind the sculpture is the remains of the survey pole erected by Colin Mackenzie during the Mysore Survey (photograph by the author)

that came to a close with his appointment as Surveyor General of India, so perhaps the painting was intended to commemorate the period that he saw as the zenith of his research.

Another preparation Mackenzie worked on before leaving Madras was the completion of surveys at Amaravati and Mahabalipuram. These two sites were of particular interest to him, and he had always intended to carefully document them. Whilst his documentation for Mahabalipuram included the gathering of historical accounts from local people, the extant information he gathered at Amaravati only consisted of drawings. In March 1816 Mackenzie went to Amaravati along with a team of draftsmen to oversee the commencement of survey work. He remained on site for two to three months[69] but his team of draftsmen continued to produce drawings until October 1817. In April 1817 Mackenzie arranged for seven stones to be moved from Amaravati to Machilipatnam, on a ship bound for Calcutta. Of these seven stones, we know that three of them[70] were in Calcutta by April 1819, because they were drawn in that year by Mackenzie's Calcutta-based copyists, Pyari Lal, Najibullah, and Shaikh Abdullah (Figs 6.19 and 6.20). Of those three sculptures, two are in the British Museum and one is in the India Museum, Calcutta.[71]

Mackenzie's investigations at Amaravati were motivated by his interest in the Jain religion. During Mackenzie's lifetime little was known about the flourishing of early Buddhism in south India. Mackenzie was not aware of the subtle iconographic distinction between seated Jina and Buddha figures, and his Indian colleagues were not aware that the sculptures they had unearthed at Amaravati were Buddhist. It was easy and understandable for Mackenzie to connect an existing religious community in south India, namely the Jains, with a Buddhist monument. Mackenzie first encountered the ruined stupa at Amaravati in 1798 and documented the encounter in an article published in *Asiatick Researches*, titled 'Account of the Jains'.[72] His article makes it clear that he intended to thoroughly investigate the site, which is precisely what he tried to do between March 1816 and October 1817.

Most of the maps, plans, and drawings of sculpture gathered during Mackenzie's Amaravati excavations in 1816–17 were bound into an album containing 85 sheets of sketches. We know from the names and initials written on many of these sketches that at least eight of Mackenzie's draftsmen and copyists worked on the drawings. Amongst the draftsmen were Henry Hamilton, T. Lockwood, John Newman, and William Sydenham. Hamilton and Sydenham were the most experienced of these surveyors. Hamilton prepared the maps[73] and others prepared the drawings of sculpture. Although there are no drawings by John Newman in the Amaravati album, we know that he prepared drawings on site because there is a note on one of the site plans that reads '14 stones drawn by Newman'.[74] Others who were named in the drawings, such as Thomas Anderson, Charles Barnett, Marcellus Burke, and John Gould might have worked at the site, but it is more likely that they were tasked with copying the drawings created by the others.[75]

Perhaps the most curious feature of Mackenzie's work at Amaravati was his decision to arrange for a large quantity of the sculptures to be sent off site. At least seven stones were sent to Calcutta, but most of the stones that Mackenzie moved from Amaravati went no farther than Masulipatam, the sea port from which the others were loaded onto a ship for transport to Calcutta. At the time of Mackenzie's excavations there were no museums for the display of sculpture in south India. To send them to a museum, Mackenzie arranged for at least 38 Amaravati sculptures, 12 of which were illustrated by Mackenzie's draftsmen,[76] to be sent to

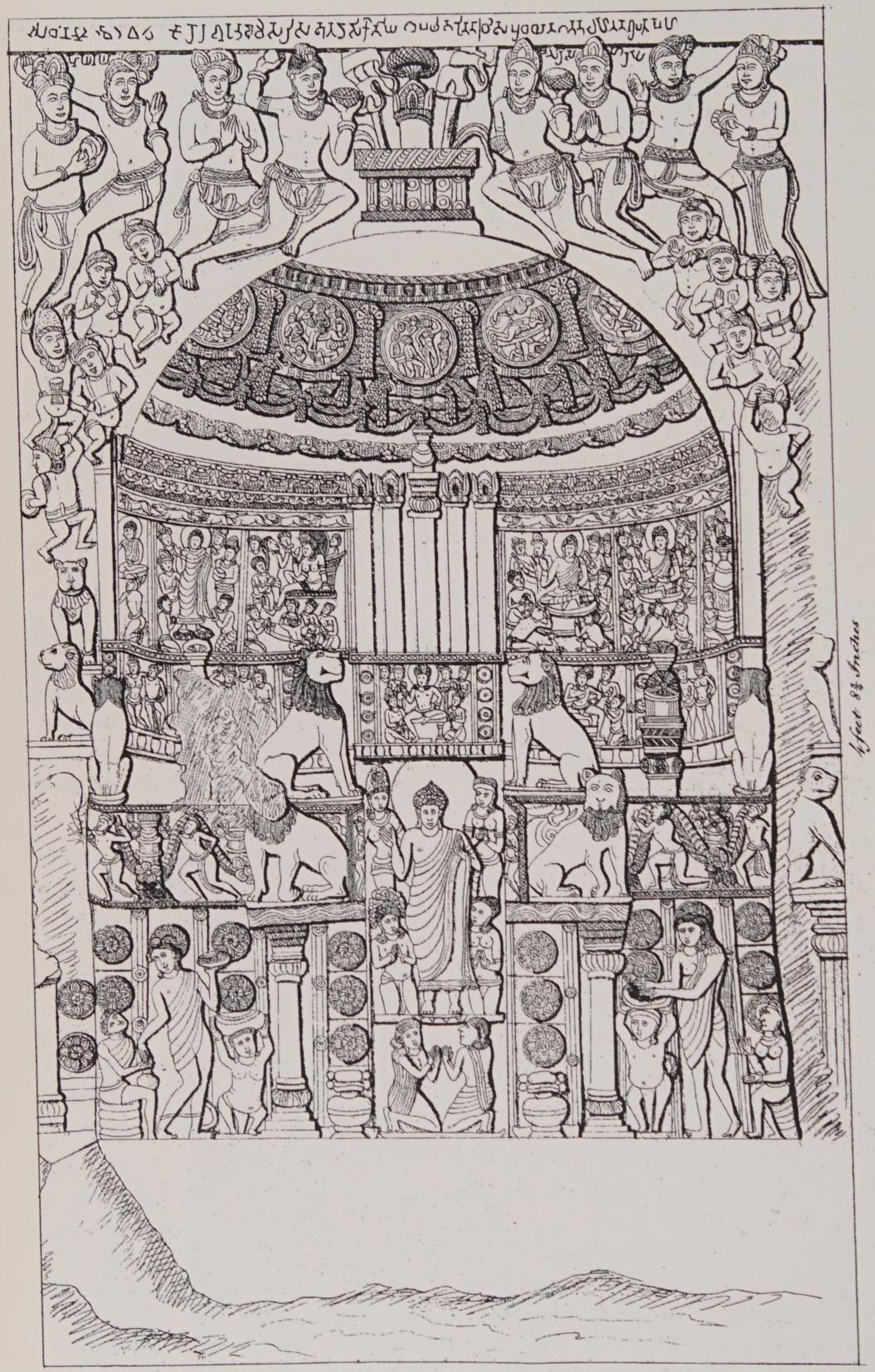


Fig. 6.19 A sculpture from Amaravati begun by J. Mustie and finished by Shaikh Abdullah, 13 July 1819. Colin Mackenzie removed this sculpture from the site and brought it to Calcutta. It was later sent to London and is now in the British Museum (WD1061, f.69)

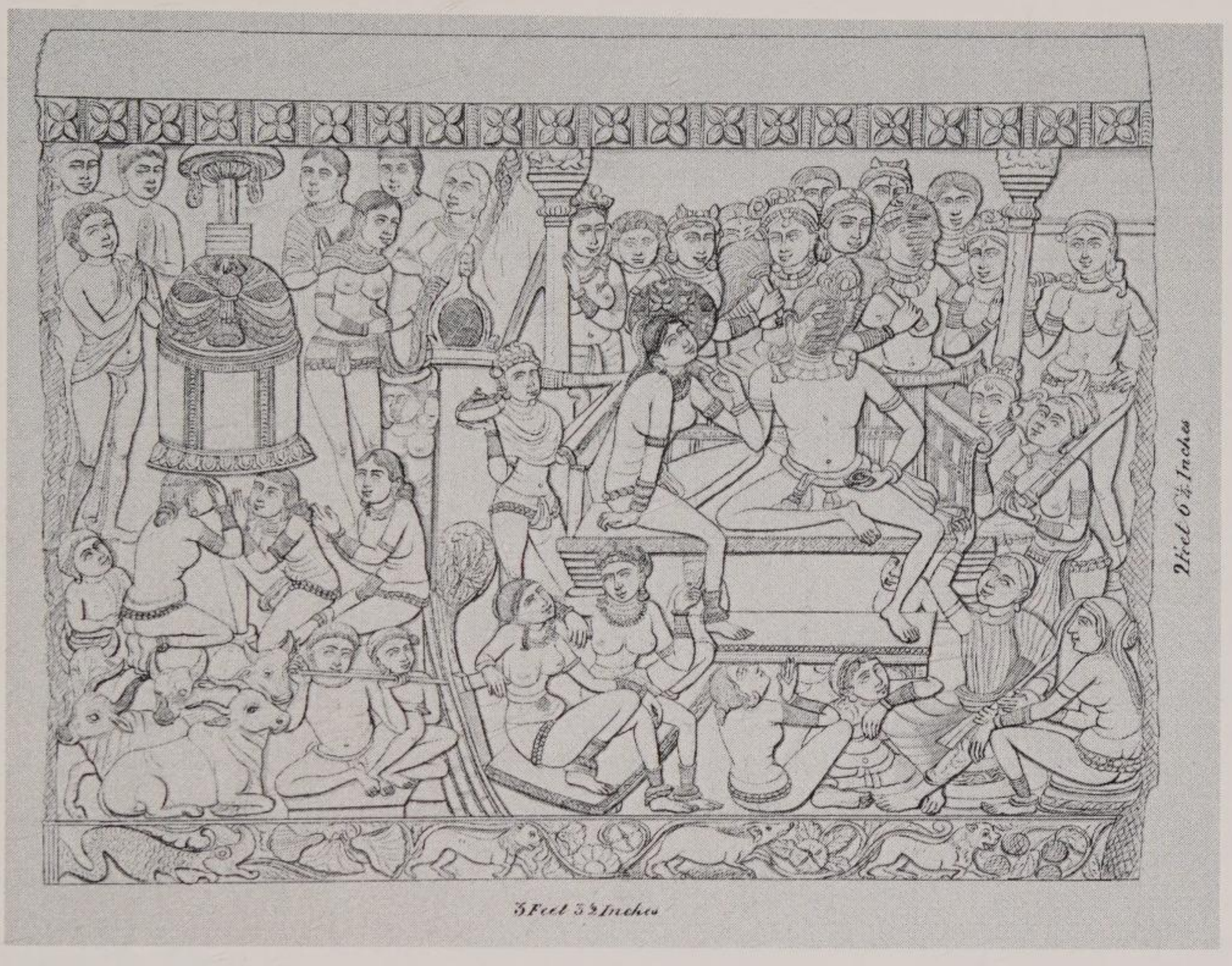


Fig. 6.20 A sculpture from Amaravati drawn by Pyari Lal, 17 August 1819. Mackenzie removed this sculpture from the site and brought it to Calcutta, where Pyari Lal made this drawing. It was later sent to London and is now in the British Museum (WD1061, f.84)

Masulipatam. They were used to construct a monument in the market place. The monument, known as 'Robertson's Mound', was designed and constructed by Francis W. Robertson, the Head Assistant to the Collector at Masulipatam from 1814 to 1817. The monument's original design required '88 of the former or large sculptures and about 38 to 40 of the latter (smaller stones) to complete it. To acquire these numbers the best part of the mound at Dipaldinna must be opened.'[77] Fortunately a scaled down version of the proposed monument was constructed instead. In the early 1850s, 38 of the sculptures that composed Robertson's Mound were sent to the new Madras Government Museum[78] and eventually to the British Museum in London.

After the Amaravati excavations were completed, Mackenzie moved to Calcutta, and began to rethink his original interpretation of Amaravati as a Jain monument. This change of mind probably transpired through Mackenzie's correspondence with Captain Edward Fell in 1818 and 1819. Fell was involved with the first recorded investigations at Sanchi Stupa, and Mackenzie sent Fell a list of enquiries about Sanchi dated 15 November 1818.[79] Fell dutifully replied to Mackenzie by sending him a report dated January 1819.[80] The report described the sculptures at Sanchi as Buddhist and also compared them with the subject matter found on the Amaravati sculptures. This led Mackenzie to write a second article on Amaravati titled 'Ruins of Amravutty, Depauldina and Durnacotta'.[81] In this article Mackenzie does not say anything about Amaravati being a Jain monument, and instead writes that it 'was a place consecrated to religious worship, but by a different sect from the Hindoos'.[82]

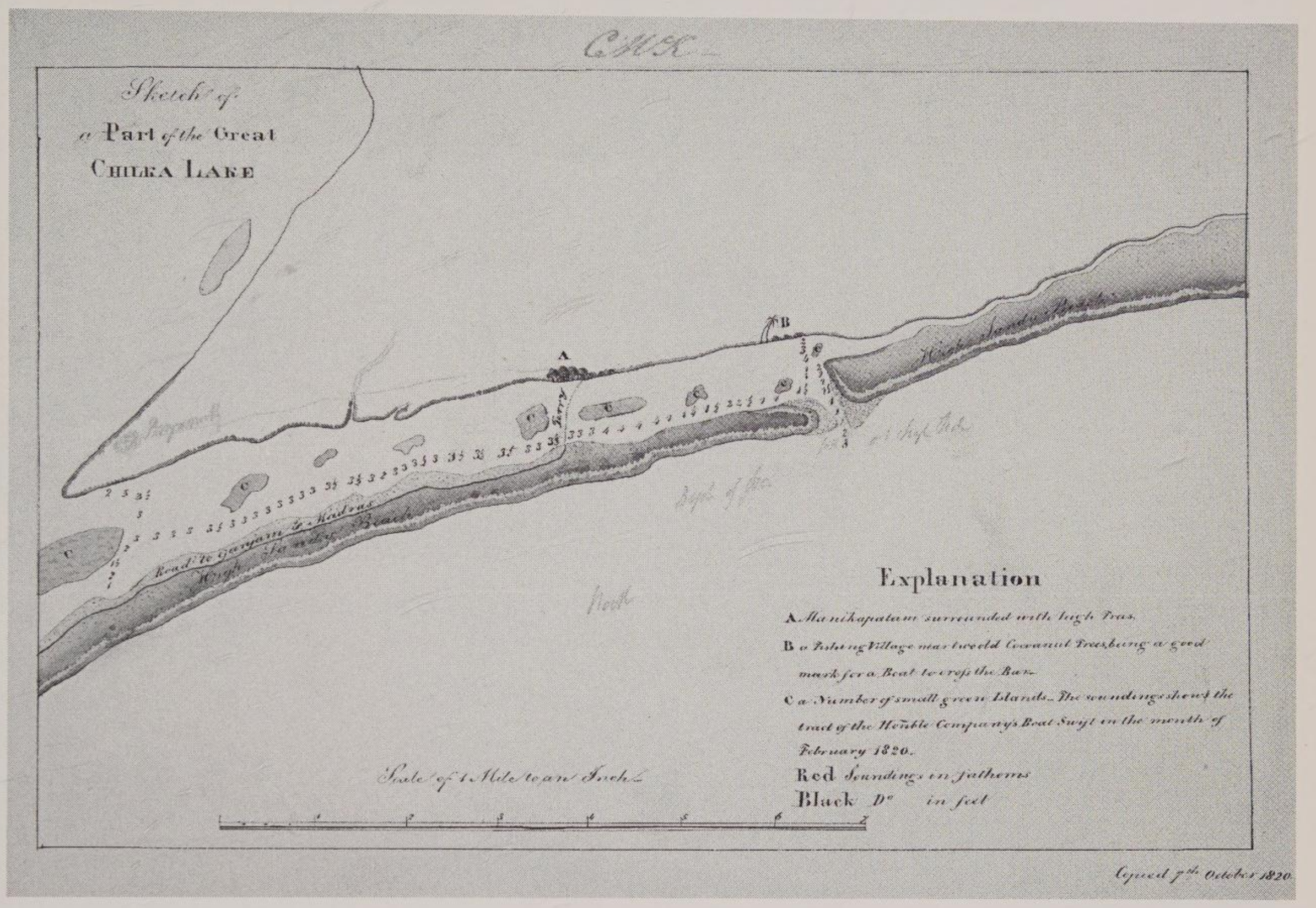
By June 1816 Mackenzie left Amaravati and was in Mahabalipuram. He probably remained there until July of that year, overseeing the survey.[83] In January 1817 he once again went to Mahabalipuram, but this time to convalesce after suffering from 'a weakness of stomach'.[84] His health problems continued into March 1817. Although the investigations at both Amaravati and Mahabalipuram began in the late eighteenth century, and continued until 1817, the data gathered at Mahabalipuram differs from the Amaravati investigations. In particular, the information gathered at Amaravati consists almost entirely of drawings, while the Mahabalipuram information includes accounts of the site as told by local people. This difference makes sense when one considers that there was no local understanding of the history of the stupa at Amaravati and its carved stones in the late eighteenth century, so there was virtually no local information to collect. By contrast, at Mahabalipuram the locals had many oral accounts that described the history of the area and the stories behind the deities who inhabited its many impressive monuments.

Perhaps one of the last drawings Mackenzie made before his departure from Madras was a plan of his two-storey garden house.[85] He was distressed about leaving his house, and in a letter to Mrs Mackenzie Seaforth, he made the following complaint: 'My house at Madras that cost me 10,000 Pagodas has not been rented till December last, and I cannot get it immediately disposed of so on the whole my finances have been injured by this honourable selection by my honourable masters'.[86] Mrs Mackenzie Seaforth was none other than Lady Hood, the wife of Admiral Hood, who had travelled with Mackenzie through the Upper Provinces. In 1814 her husband died and soon afterward her father passed away, leaving her as sole heir and chief of clan Mackenzie. In 1817 she married for the second time, to James Alexander Stewart of Glasserton (1784–1843). Because of her penultimate rank within the Mackenzie clan, she used her maiden name after marrying Stewart.

1817–21: Calcutta and Orissa

Mackenzie finally arrived in Calcutta in July 1817, accompanied by his entourage of translators, draftsmen, and writers. Laksmiah Brahmin was the head translator (though his arrival was delayed until May 1818)[87], and John Newman was the chief draftsman. Other draftsmen such as John Mustie travelled to Calcutta, and Lucius Rawdon Burke came as Mackenzie's secretary. In a letter written in May 1818, Mackenzie records that 'Lecchmyah arrived… with all his people safe and well, tho some of them had been dangerously ill'.[88] Once in Calcutta, Mackenzie hired new copyists. The exact number of Calcutta-based copyists is not known, but we do know that Najibullah and Pyari Lal began working for Mackenzie in 1818, and Shaikh Abdullah joined them in 1819. Besides working on producing fair copies of earlier drawings which are part of the Mackenzie Collection, these three Bengali copyists prepared new drawings such as the pictures of the three Amaravati stones that Mackenzie sent to Calcutta in April 1817.[89]

By 1820 Mackenzie's health was seriously faltering. In an attempt to refresh his constitution, he travelled to Orissa on 9 May of that year[90] and stayed there until the end of October 1820. Upon his arrival at Puri, he stayed as the guest of a Mr Fraser[91] and Dr Browne. A friend who accompanied Mackenzie on the journey made the following arrangements with Mr Fraser, which are outlined in a letter from Fraser dated 17 April 1820.

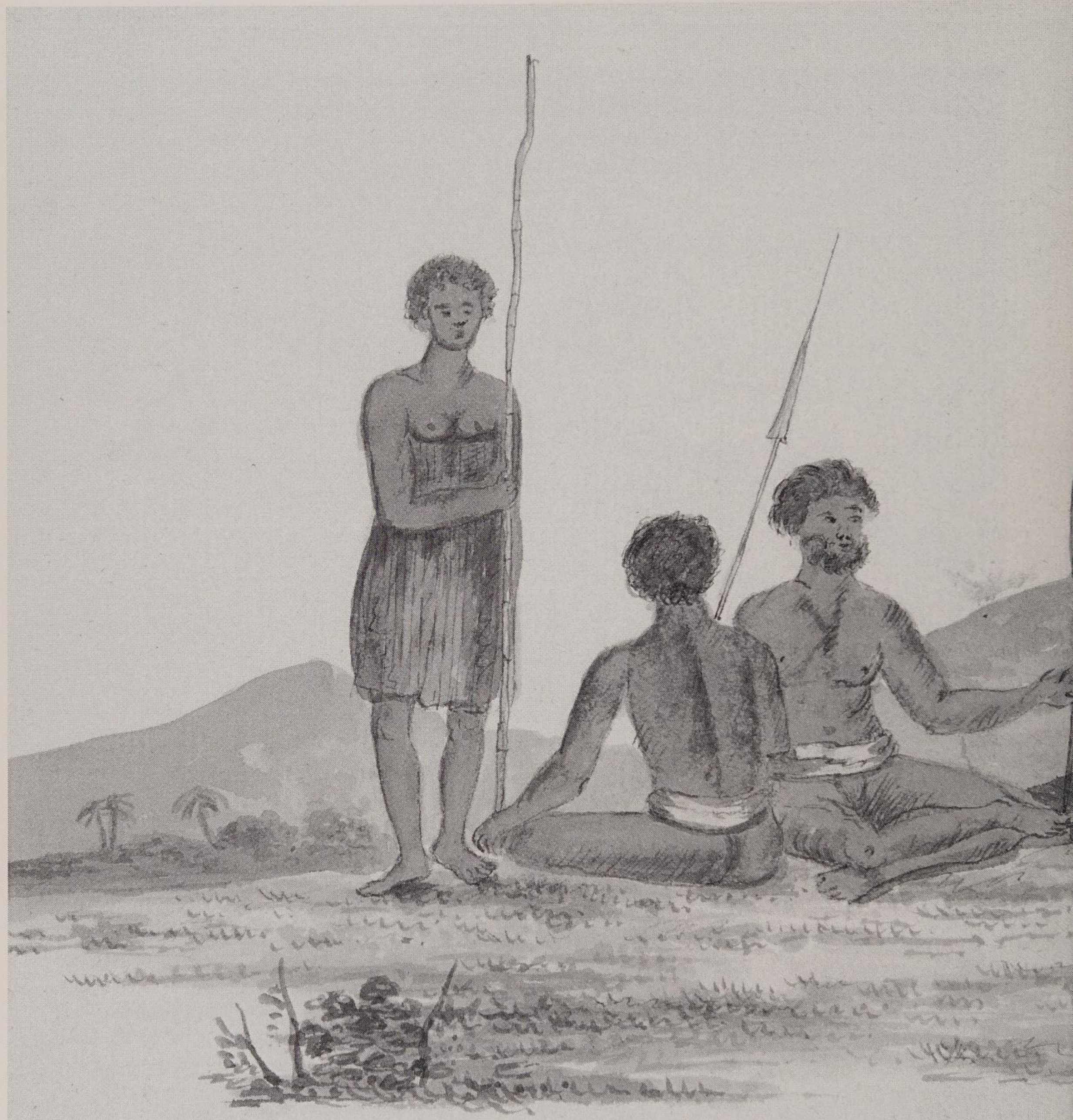

Chilka
Sketch of
a Part of the Great
Chilka Lake
A
B
C
Explanation
A. Manikapatam surrounded with high Trees.
B a Fishing Village near two old Cocoanut Trees being a good mark for a Boat to cross the Bar.
C a Number of small green Islands. The soundings shew the tract of the Honble Company's Boat Swyt in the month of February 1820.
Red Soundings in fathoms
Black Do in feet
Scale of 1 Mile to an Inch
Copied 7th October 1820

Map 6.1 A map of Chilika Lake dated February 1820 (WD2672)

> I am…delighted that you have determined on visiting Cuttack, Juggernauth and all the other fashionable and salubrious resorts – Put yourself aboard a safe and comodious pilot boat as soon as possible and steer direct to Pooree (alias Juggernauth) where there are the proper boats always to land folks safely—even ladies have come lately…I will run down to the beach and receive you with all due honours-and from hence conduct you and the Colonel who I shall also be most happy to see up to my residence at Cuttack where a room is all ready for you… I want to make the same offer to Colonel Mackenzie but unluckily my house is scarcely large enough for three of us, however, I feel the less concern about this, from Doctor Browne (who happened to be with me when your letter arrived) having expressed a strong wish that Colonel Mackenzie would take a room in his house…As Browne's house is quite close to mine you and the Colonel can be as much together as you like and you can snugly settle all your plans with us.[92]

The journey was made on the Company's Pilot Schooner, Jane. Mackenzie collected a series of maps that chart the passage of the ship along the Orissa coastline from 16 to 22 May 1820.[93]

The ship landed at Puri (Plate 39) on 22 May 1820.[94] Upon his arrival, Mackenzie wrote, '[w]e landed on the 22nd ultimo at Juggernaut... Since that I have been journeying about along the coast, and find the benefit of this, and the sea air and breeze already, and hope...I shall return to Calcutta with renewed health'.[95] The sea air at Puri certainly revived his interest in collecting



Group of Coree

Fig. 6. 21 Drawing of Khonds residing in Ganjam District, by E. Fraser, 1801 (WD858)

drawings. One of the drawings he collected is a map of Chilka Lake, dated February 1820. It might be a copy of a map that Mackenzie was shown during his visit (Map 6.1). Another picture, which was probably copied at the same time, shows a view of Chilka Lake taken in 1819.[96]

Some of the drawings from the 1820 voyage are ethnographic studies bearing some resemblance with the drawings collected by Mackenzie at Ballaghat, roughly twenty years earlier. The ethnographic studies from Orissa are probably the earliest visual documentation of Orissan 'tribal' people collected by the British. One picture depicts Khonds (Fig. 6.21) and another shows 'hill people to the Northward' (Fig. 6.22)[97]. Other pictures show ascetics as well as typical villagers and brahmins who resided around Puri (Fig. 6.23). Like the Ballaghat drawings of people, these pictures from Orissa are clearly labelled with dates and locations, indicating a western approach to their subject matter.[98]

Many of the drawings from Orissa collected on this occasion show important monuments and festivals. One drawing shows a view of the famous Jagganath procession at Puri in September 1820 (Fig. 6.24). Another watercolour, made at the same time, shows a different view of the Jagganath Temple with European bungalows in the foreground next to the seashore. The famous Surya Temple, or 'Black Pagoda' at Konarak, also provided the subject matter of yet another drawing. Mackenzie also wrote an account of the temple dated 1 October 1820. The description is accompanied by a sketch showing the temple's shikara before it collapsed. He describes the temple as 'long deserted and this affords us an opportunity of seeing the interior detail of these buildings that cannot be got when the Brahmins or other sects are in possession'.[99] Mackenzie also travelled inland to Bhubaneswar, where a watercolour was made of the famous stand of temples in July 1820 (Plate 40).

Soon after Mackenzie returned to Calcutta in late 1820, his health again deteriorated. This is reflected by his output. Whilst his copyists continued to do their duties, Mackenzie did little with his collections, and seemed too unwell to pursue any of his interests or to gather new information for his collections. He began a course of therapy that involved taking a budgerow[100] down the Hooghly to take in the sea air.

> Shortly after my return hither on the 2nd November from the coast of Cuttack, where I had in some degree recovered my health,...I was taken ill here and...I was obliged...to remove to Budge Budge, 12 miles down the river, for a change of air, and a temporary respite from close attention to my office...My medical advisor has recommended my moving up and down the river for some time.[101]

Mackenzie died on 8 May 1821 while travelling on a boat down the river to the Sands Heads. He was on his way to visit Lieutenant Colonel T. Wood, allegedly to hand over charge of the Surveyor General's office to him.[102] Mackenzie was in his late sixties and had worked unceasingly since he arrived in India at the age of 29. He spent over half his life in India and throughout that time, even when he was overcome by sickness, he had always collected drawings, as if incapable of stopping his work.

Mackenzie had reached a reasonable age and had definitely left his mark as an impressive collector. Regrettably, before he passed away, he had not organized his collections properly. This was partially due to the erratic course of his career. Mackenzie rarely had time to sit down and

Fig. 6. 22 Three men from Orissa armed with bows and arrows. 'Hill people to the Northward' (WD857)

collate his collections. He was too busy doing his work for the East India Company or gathering new material for his collections to organize the material he had already accumulated. A case in point was his move from Madras to Calcutta. Instead of preparing for his departure from Madras by sorting out his collections, he initiated two detailed surveys of sites in Madras Presidency. Even though the materials he gathered about Mahabalipuram and Amaravati were never structured into properly organized reports, we can be thankful that these surveys did take place, and the materials gathered have been preserved.

In a document dated 1 January 1823, it was agreed that the East India Company would buy Mackenzie's collections of manuscripts, drawings, coins, minerals, and other items from his widow for Rs 1,00,000.[103] Mackenzie's successor, Major General John Anthony Hodgson (1777–1848), was completely unfamiliar with the Mackenzie Collection, and 'expressing his wish to be relieved of all charge of the establishment connected with them, it became a matter of some perplexity how it should be disposed of, in contemplation of it becoming the property of the Company'.[104] Horace Hayman Wilson stepped in, and with the help of Kavali Venkata Laksmiah Brahmin and Mackenzie's other assistants, who were still on hand even though they had lost their patron, they organized vast parts of the collection into lists. Wilson was completely unfamiliar with south

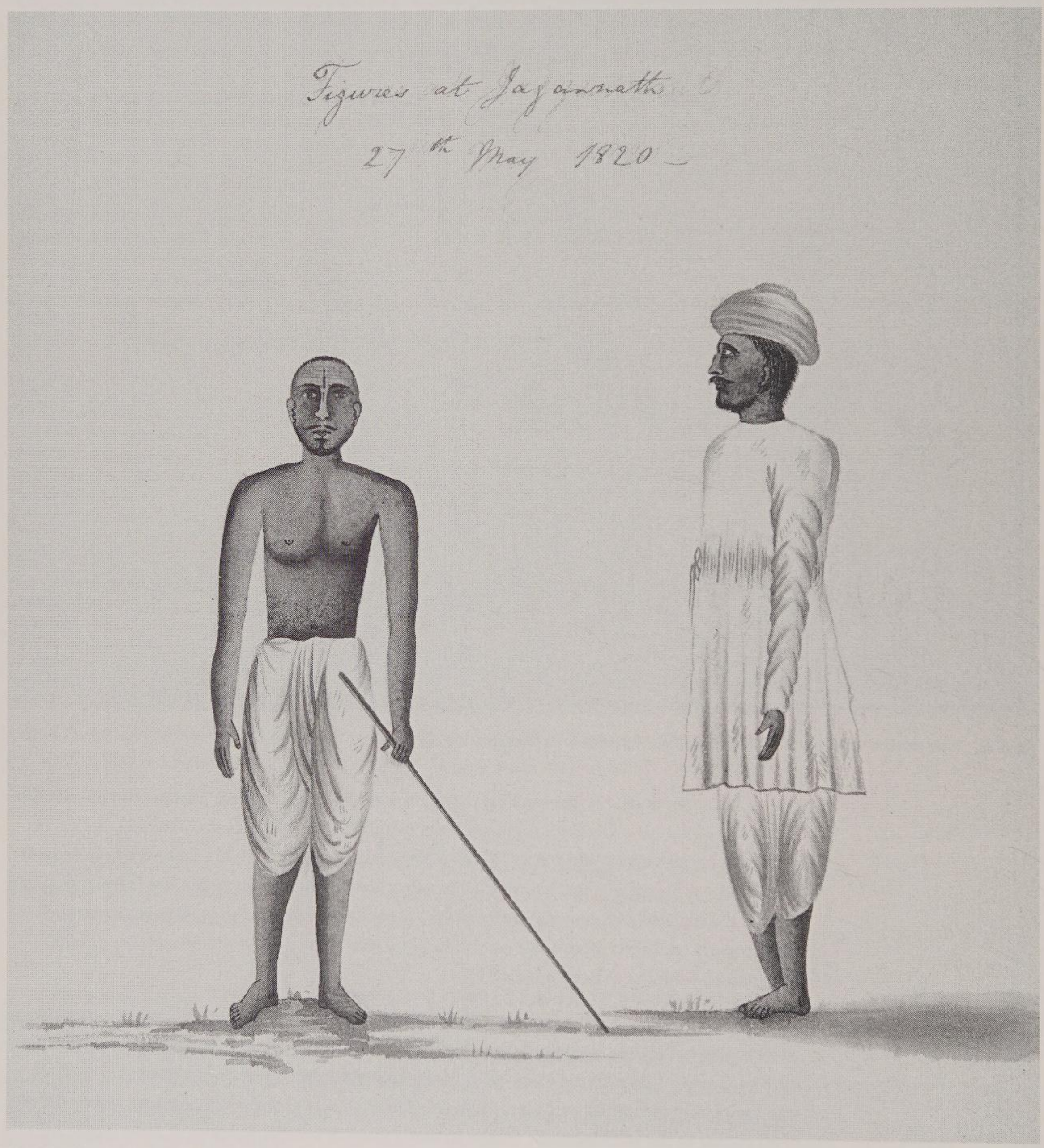


Fig. 6. 23 Hindu villagers at Puri, 27 May 1820 (WD869)

Fig. 6. 24 A temple procession in front of the Jagganath Temple at Puri, September 1820 (WD779)

Indian languages, so the assistance of Mackenzie's south Indian translators was essential for this work. Once the collections were listed, the south Indian language texts were sent to the library of Madras College, and the other material was sent to East India House in London, where the bulk of it was placed in the East India Company's library at Leadenhall Street. This became the India Office Library in the 1850s, and was transferred to the British Library in 1982.

Before his death, Mackenzie was deeply concerned about the fate of his assistants. In a letter to Mrs Mackenzie Seaforth (formerly Lady Hood) dated 24 March 1819, he wrote,

> poor Lechmyah is still alive and has accompanied me a second time to Bengal; with Burke and most of my literary natives—what their reward will be ultimately God knows; their Master has been so worried that I am afraid their hopes are not so sanguine as once I encouraged. Such is the singular form of our Government that nothing can be depended on but ones own resources.[105]

His most prominent translators, the Kavali brothers, were provided for in his will, as were his young wife, Petronella, and his sister, Mary.[106] The surviving Kavali brothers, Laksmiah and Ramaswami, continued to earn a living as translators. With their experience as assistants to Colin Mackenzie, they probably made a decent living.[107] Other Indian assistants employed by Mackenzie obviously found translation work with European employers after Mackenzie's death. For example, in a paper read by Benjamin Guy Babington in 1828 on Mahabalipuram, he mentions that during a trip to the site he enlisted the help of

> One of the Jain Brahmans, in the employ of Colonel Mackenzie, [who] had such a knowledge of ancient characters somewhat similar to this [grantha script], that on visiting the spot with me, he succeeded in deciphering a great part of this inscription, the language of which was Sanscrit.[108]

Mackenzie's Calcutta based copyists also must have continued earning a living in the field they were trained to work in under Mackenzie. This is the case for Pyari Lal, who worked as a copyist under the next Surveyor General of India, John Anthony Hodgson, from December 1822 to March 1823.[109]

Mrs Colin Mackenzie (nee Petronella Bartels) would have been in her early twenties when her husband died. With the money she received from the East India Company towards the purchase of the collections and Mackenzie's estate, she must have been in a very comfortable position. Perhaps in order to amalgamate the estate, she was sent for by Mackenzie's maiden sister, Mary Mackenzie, to move to the island of Lewis in Scotland. Such an arrangement would have brought most of Colin Mackenzie's wealth back to the ancestral home of the Mackenzie family. Having lived her entire life in Asia, Petronella would have understandably been apprehensive about moving to the Outer Hebrides to live with her deceased husband's old maid sister. According to a document kept at the Stornoway Library,

> The widow who was much younger than her husband, left India with the intention of coming to stay with her sister-in-law (presumably at the request of her late husband). Mr. James Robertson, who was then Collector of Customs in Stornoway… was asked by Miss [Mary] Mackenzie to meet the widow at London and convey her to Stornoway… On Mr. Robertson reaching London he found that the vessel with the widow had been delayed and he had to wait some time in London. When the vessel did arrive he found that the widow had met on board a military gentleman who was a passenger in the same vessel and had married him at some port that the vessel had called at. The widow refused to come to Stornoway but Mr. Robertson managed to secure a large sum of money left by her husband for the benefit of Miss Mackenzie.[110]

Colin Mackenzie's wealthy young widow had married Captain Robert Page Fulcher (1800–84) of the Bengal Army on 18 February 1823 at the Cape of Good Hope while he was travelling to Britain on furlough. According to the register of donations from the Royal Asiatic Society, on 1 May 1824 Fulcher donated two Mackenzie drawings to the Society's library that had belonged to his new wife.[111] We know that Robert Page Fulcher and Petronella returned to Calcutta very soon afterwards, because on 19 November 1824 their daughter, Emily Mary Fulcher, was baptized at Fort William.[112] Through their shipboard romance, Petronella narrowly escaped spending the remainder of her life in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland and Robert Fulcher gained a considerable amount of Colin Mackenzie's fortune.

The final frenetic decade of Mackenzie's life was characterized by the expansion of his collections, and to some degree, their organization. His compulsion to collect only slowed down in the last year or two of his life, when his health deteriorated. Even in the face of ill health, he managed to continue collecting material while he was convalescing in Orissa. Because Mackenzie died without any significant immediate family, and because his various assistants all had to look for work elsewhere, the only thing left behind as a reminder of his hard work was the actual documents and drawings that made up his collections. In their semi-organized state, the bulk of these materials were sent to London, where they have been preserved up to the present day.

Notes and References

1. NAS, GD46/17/10, f.523.
2. NLS, Ms 971, f.271r-v.
3. A list of Mackenzie albums held in the Asiatic Society's library was published in 1884 (W.A. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta: City Press, 1884, p. 183). Those sent to East India House in London were never recorded as received.
4. Mss Eur F148/47.
5. Add.29324.
6. See Chapter 4.
7. 'Memorandum for Captain Mackenzie.' NAS, GD46/17/4, f.524. Also see R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. II, p. 421.
8. NAS, GD46/17/4, f.525-6.
9. P. Robb, 'Completing "Our Stock of Geography" or an Object "Still More Sublime": Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore, 1799–1810', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 8(2), 1998, p. 188.
10. D. Blake, *Catalogue of the European Manuscripts in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library. Volume 1, Part 2. The Mackenzie General and Miscellaneous Collections*. London: British Library, 1992, p. xliv.
11. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 424–5.
12. NLS, Ms 971, f.120v.
13. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 474.
14. NLS, Mss/35/1/5, ff.81-87.
15. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 108.
16. WD953, f.29. Copied into a report submitted to Minto.
17. Minto sent the stone, which is today known as the 'Minto Stone' or the 'Sanggurah Stone' to his home in Roxburghshire, Scotland. It is still there today.
18. Mss Eur F148/47, f.5; WD953, f. 83. The drawing is illustrated in A. Gallop, *Early Views of Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1995, pp. 38–9.
19. Mss Eur F148/47, f.3.
20. See J. Howes, 'The Colonial History of Sculptures from the Amaravati Stupa', in Jason Hawkes and Akira Shimada (eds), *Buddhist Stupas in South Asia*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 20–39.
21. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 426.
22. Some of Mackenzie's letters to Seaforth are preserved in the National Archives of Scotland. For example, see GD46/17/4.
23. WD4317, f.1c.
24. DNB

25. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 426.
26. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 108.
27. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 183.
28. WD862.
29. WD311, f.6.
30. WD703, 732-4, 759-760, 813, 823-5, 1329.
31. The same artist produced another watercolour showing another view of the Vishnupada Temple at Gaya, (WD733) and a view of Gaya from the river (Add.Or.4496, formerly WD2620).
32. WD735.
33. WD732, 734. The Persian inscriptions on both drawings translate as, 'the writer of this is the artist, Bhavani Baksh'.
34. U. Singh, *The Discovery of Ancient India*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, p. 64.
35. The fair copy based on WD759 is WD813.
36. WD825.
37. See William Hodges, *Select Views in India: drawn on the spot in the years 1780, 1981,1782 and 1783*. London: Printed for the author, sold by J. Edwards, 1786-88, plate 32.
38. Mss Eur C9, f.391. William Wilberforce Bird (1784-1857) of the Bengal Civil Service was based in Benares in 1814.
39. WD698.
40. The shelf mark of the other sketch is WD811.
41. WD763 and WD764.
42. Kept in the Royal Asiatic Society's library in London (RAS, 029.003). Reproduced in Raymond Head, *Catalogue of Paintings… in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London: 1991, plate XII.
43. WD 817 is the field sketch from which WD705 was taken.
44. WD 775 is a field sketch showing Kalinjar fort and a temple in the foreground. WD706 and 766 are copies based on the field sketch.
45. WD805.
46. WD821.
47. W.A. Bion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta: City Press, 1884, p. 183.
48. The Royal Asiatic Society, London. RAS, 029.002 and 029.003.
49. Quoted from Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 427.
50. WD1066 and WD2880.
51. WD2880, f.10. Sculpture at Jajpur, Orissa dated 7 March 1815.
52. WD1066, ff.4-6, 10-16. Sculpture at Jajpur, Orissa. 20 March–17 May.
53. WD2880, ff.28-69. Drawings of sculpture at Bhubaneswar dated 5 to 11 April 1815.
54. WD683.
55. WD650. Drawing of the Pir Masjid at Vizag dated 24 June 1815. Copy of a Newman drawing by C. Ignatio.
56. WD1066, ff.17-22, 24.
57. WD1066, ff.25-33.
58. Letter to Josiah Marshall quoted in Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 474.
59. 1816 also appears to be a period of accelerated activity for manuscript collecting by Mackenzie's Indian assistants. See P. Wagoner, 'From Manuscript to Archive to Print : The Mackenzie Collection in Later Telugu Literary Historiography', in T. Trautmann (ed.), *The Madras School of Orientalism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.188–9.
60. WD650, 659, 660, 683 and 861 have been identified as Ignatio copies of Newman drawings.
61. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 316.

62. Ibid., vol. II, p. 316.
63. WD1068, f.11.
64. WD1061, f.12.
65. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 511 ; Pauline Rohatgi, 'Preface to a Lost Collection: The Pioneering art of Francis Swain Ward', *Marg*, XLVI (4), 1995, pp. 31–52.
66. The earliest published description to name the painting's background as Sravana Belgola is in William Foster's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Paintings, Statues, &c in the India Office*. London: 1924, p. 7. Until now, all subsequent identifications gave the same description.
67. WD623. Attributed to Benjamin Swain Ward.
68. Letter from Mackenzie to Charles Wilkins, 25 Oct 1808. Mss Eur Mack Gen.18A, f.277
69. For more on Mackenzie's Amaravati excavations see J. Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie and the Stupa at Amravati', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 18, 2002, pp. 53–66.
70. There are Mackenzie drawing of all 3 of these sculptures in WD1061, on folios 69, 83, 84. Folio 83 is reproduced as illustration 2.1 in Howes, 'The Colonial History of Sculptures from Amaravati Stupa', p. 29.
71. The sculptures drawn on folios 69 and 84 are in the British Museum. The sculpture from folio 83 is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
72. Vol. 9, 1809, pp. 244–78,
73. For example, WD848—Plan of Amaravati Stupa dated June 1817 by Hamilton. Copied by Mustie into WD1061, f.8. Other Amaravati maps and plans signed by Mustie are copies of Hamilton originals.
74. WD1061, f.6.
75. For example, WD1061, f.89 is a map by Henry Hamilton that was copied by John Mustie at a later date.
76. WD 1061, ff.13, 15, 16, 28, 30, 31, 36, 39, 46, 47, 51(c), 52.
77. WD786.
78. William Taylor, *Report on the Elliott Marbles*. Madras: Government Press, 1856, pp. 59–73.
79. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 171.
80. Fell's letter to Mackenzie was published in the *Calcutta Journal* (11 July 1819) and reprinted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. 3, 1834, pp. 490–4).
81. *Asiatic Journal*, vol. 15, January–June 1823, pp. 464–78.
82. Ibid., p. 469.
83. See Chapter 5 in this book on Mackenzie's survey of Mahabalipuram.
84. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 475.
85. WD856.
86. NAS, GD46/17/51. Letter from Mackenzie dated Calcutta, 24 March 1819.
87. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 465. For reasons for this delay see Dirks 2009, pp. 40–1.
88. Quoted from Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 481.
89. These are WD1061, ff.69, 83, 84.
90. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 478, note 1.
91. Perhaps Mr Fraser was Edward Fraser (1780–1827), two of whose drawings are in the Mackenzie Collection (WD1065 f.14 and WD858).
92. Mss Eur Mack Misc. 171 (unfoliated).
93. WD695, 2670 and 2671.
94. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 478.
95. Ibid.
96. WD686.
97. The picture of Khonds is dated 1801and is signed by Edward Fraser. This is possibly the same

Mr Fraser who Mackenzie visited at Puri. Perhaps the other two drawings of Oriya people mentioned here are also by E. Fraser.

98. For more on the Ballaghat drawings, see Chapter 3.
99. Letter from Colin Mackenzie to George Grant, 1 October 1820, Mss Eur D29, ff.86-87.
100. A type of passenger barge used to travel along rivers. In the proceeding quote, Mackenzie refers to it as a 'Budge Budge'.
101. Letter dated 27 January 1821, quoted from Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 479.
102. Ibid., p.479, note 9.
103. IOR F/4/867, Coll 22924, ff.15-27.
104. H.H. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*. Calcutta: 1828, p. 12.
105. NAS, GD46/17/51. Letter from Mackenzie dated Calcutta, 24 March 1819.
106. IOR, L/AG/34/29/33, ff.249-53.
107. For publications by Kavali Venkata Ramaswami after 1821 see the following. *Modern Culinary Receipts of the Hindoos*, a Sanskrit text on cookery translated into English by C.V. Ramaswamy Pundit, Madras, 1836. This is the earliest known translation of an Indian text on cookery into English. *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets*. Calcutta, 1829. This book includes a chapter on Ramaswami's older brother, Boriah.
108. J. Babington, 'An Account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahabalipur. Reprinted from Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. II, 1830', in M.W. Carr (ed.), *Descriptive and Historical Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast*. Madras: Government Press, 1869, pp. 44–62 and 56–7.
109. A book of sketches prepared by Pyari Lal during his service to Hodgson is kept in the British Library, Mss Eur C 476.
110. Stornoway Library, Local History Collection, 910.0954 LHC. Letter from J.N. Anderson to Donald Macgregor, 1924. Page 3 of typescript.
111. Raymond Head, *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Busts in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London: 1991, pp. 97–9.
112. IOR N/1/13/f.62.

Epilogue

Trying to research the Mackenzie Collection is a surprising experience. Anyone who delves into it will be familiar with the initial feeling of helplessness that prevents most researchers from persevering. For those who do persevere, there are rewards as one very slowly begins to make sense of the Collection. When the dots connect, one gains a glimpse of how part of his project operated. It is piecemeal work, but by gathering these small connections it is possible, in time, to make some sense out of more and more facets of a collection that is famous for its enormity and notorious for its complexity.

My research has merely skimmed the surface of one tiny part of the Mackenzie Collection. It started out as a project to catalogue the Mackenzie drawings. This could not be done without considering the other material collected by Mackenzie. Besides skimming through the Mackenzie manuscripts held in the British Library's India Office Private Papers, this meant sleuthing out publications, letters, and journals authored by Mackenzie and his colleagues housed in other parts of the British Library. It also meant doing research in Scotland and India. As the primary sources connected with this project expanded, I was pulled further and further away from my original intention, to catalogue the Mackenzie drawings.

The results of my research are recorded in two places. The first is this book. Although the Mackenzie drawings have remained my focus, I have drawn upon a plethora of other sources to make sense of them, making this research relevant to those who are interested in many other aspects of the Mackenzie Collection besides the drawings. Hopefully, other researchers will be able to connect my findings with their own discoveries and further expand our knowledge of Mackenzie's work, and what it reveals about India's late pre-colonial period. The second place where my research has been recorded is on the British Library's online catalogue of prints and drawings.[1] I have created and augmented thousands of individual catalogue entries for public use. The cataloguing side of this project has made it possible to assign chronology to the drawings and to develop biographical information about the many draftsmen and copyists whom Mackenzie employed. Other researchers interested in Mackenzie can probably use the contents of this book and the information on the web catalogue to further investigate this formidable collection.

Cataloguing the Mackenzie drawings was the most obvious way to begin this project. However, cataloguing this material in the way established by Mildred Archer (1911–2005) presented some challenges. Archer was responsible for organizing the India Office Collections of

Prints and Drawings into the form we find them today. In the 1950s and 1960s she systematically published catalogues describing the bulk of the collections, thus turning a neglected archive of images into an accessible research collection. Her cataloguing is still the basis for most of the catalogue entries on the online catalogue. One of the most recognizable facets of her cataloguing and scholarship was the coining of the term 'Company painting'. Another area notable to us today was the distinction she made between artistic styles practised by Europeans and those practised by Asian artists. Drawings by European artists were catalogued as 'Western Drawings' and have 'WD' references, while those by Asian artists were given an 'Add.Or.' ('Additional Oriental') prefix.

Archer catalogued all the Mackenzie drawings using the 'WD' prefix, even though she clearly realized that many items in the Mackenzie Collection were by Indian artists. Subsequent to her cataloguing, one of the drawings was re-catalogued with the 'Add.Or.' prefix because it was so obviously by an Indian artist.[2] Changing cataloguing practices is anathema to any curator so I decided not to alter any references in this manner. Instead, I have added the names of Indian artists to existing 'WD' catalogue entries. In the 1960s, when Archer catalogued the Mackenzie drawings, she must have decided it was too much work to sort out which were by Indian artists and which were by Western artists. Retaining the shelf marks assigned by Archer makes sense because her cataloguing was published in 1969. Changing the shelf marks would simply be confusing for researchers who rely on Archer's published catalogues.

The next problem had to do with assigning chronology to the drawings. As has been discussed throughout this book, the Mackenzie Collection contains many layers of copied drawings. It was common to generate copies of drawings long after the originals were taken. As a result, one sometimes finds two or more versions of the same drawing that were created over a span of several decades. The differences between the dates of originals and copies vary wildly and there is no firm pattern behind these variances. Dealing with these variances was most easily tackled by gathering biographical data on the draftsmen and copyists that Mackenzie employed. Not all of Mackenzie's copyists signed their work, but for those who did we can safely date their work based on the dates they worked for Mackenzie. Cataloguing the items on a database which specifies start and end dates was extremely helpful for sorting out this conundrum.

Gathering biographical details on artists has also helped to expand our knowledge of these individuals and their families beyond their employment with Mackenzie. In many cases, the artists Mackenzie employed are represented in other parts of the British Library's collections, thus expanding our knowledge of these artists' careers and of their extended families. For example, Mackenzie employed a copyist named Pyari Lal at Calcutta from 1818 to 1821. Pyari Lal was one of at least four Bengali copyists who worked for Mackenzie in Calcutta. The other three we know of by name were Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh Din Muhammad, and Najibullah.[3] Of these copyists, we have the most information about Pyari Lal. It appears that he accompanied Mackenzie to Orissa in 1820. His employment in the Surveyor General's Office as a draftsman continued after Mackenzie's death, and he worked for Mackenzie's successor, Major General John Anthony Hodgson (1777–1848) from December 1822 until March 1823.[4] Although it is uncertain what he did during the 1830s, Pyari Lal's career as a draftsman continued into the 1840s and possibly the 1850s, when he drew pictures of sculptures from sites such as Varanasi, Sarnath, Bodhgaya,

and Gaur for Markham Kittoe (1808–53). Kittoe was an officer in the Bengal 6th Native infantry, but he was also the Archaeological Enquirer to the government in the Northwestern Provinces when these drawings were prepared. Interestingly, there are other draftsmen named in the Kittoe drawings who might have been Pyari Lal's sons. These draftsmen were Mahesh Lal, Ganesh Lal, and Girdhari Lal.[5]

Another draftsmen who came from an artistic family that is represented elsewhere in the British Library's collections is Benjamin Swain Ward. He was the son of the failed East India Company painter, Francis Swain Ward, who died in India in 1794, leaving behind a destitute wife and five children.[6] Unfortunately for his children, Francis Swain Ward had a reputation for being a difficult person and was disliked by the East India Company's Board of Directors. He went to India and became a lieutenant, but in April 1764 he resigned and returned to England to pursue a career as an artist. However, this venture failed. In 1773, to regain the favour of the East India Company, Ward gave the East India Company's Court of Directors ten of his paintings. This led to his re-engagement as a Captain in Madras presidency. The ten paintings are now part of the British Library's collections,[7] as are all the known drawings by his son, Benjamin.

On 22 November 1798, perhaps because he exhibited some of his father's artistic talent, Benjamin Swain Ward was admitted into the Madras Observatory Surveying School at the age of 12. Unlike the other pupils we know of from the Surveying School, Benjamin had studied in a school outside Madras and not at the Orphans' Asylum. Mackenzie wrote a recommendation on Benjamin's behalf on 7 April 1806, when his indenture to the East India Company had ended.

> From the good moral character, the docility and temperate conduct he has evinced on his duty…I conceive he might be usefully employed in the Company's military service; especially when it is known that tho his father had attained the rank of a field officer…the family consisting of five children and a widow, his mother, was…left in a destitute situation.[8]

From this statement we can surmise that Mackenzie hoped that Benjamin's career would not be blighted by his father's unfortunate reputation. Benjamin Swain Ward is best known for his picture of the hill at Karkala with the statue of Gomatesvara at the top (see Plate 19),[9] which became the background for Mackenzie's portrait by Thomas Hickey (see Plate 1).

Perhaps the most appropriate way to summarize Mackenzie's career is to look one last time at the Thomas Hickey portrait (see P 2). The men who stand on either side of Mackenzie attest to the importance he placed on Indian pandits and translators. Mackenzie saw their participation and abilities as an essential aspect of his project so it is poignant that he acknowledged them in this portrait. On the back of the painting there is an inscription that has led to centuries of confusion.

> Portraits of Colonel Mackenzie (Surveyor-General of India) and of three distinguished Brahmins of the three leading sects in the South of India. The native holding the telescope is Kavelli Venkata Lakshmerajah, President of the Literary Society of Hindus in connection with the Royal Asiatic Society of London. In the background is represented the celebrated colossal figure of Buddha.[10]

This inscription was not authored by Mackenzie and was clearly composed after the painting was received at East India House in London, because of the reference made to the

Literary Society of Hindus at Madras, which was not founded until 1833.[11] Because the painting's backdrop shows a sculpture of Gomatesvara rather than a Buddha, and because the object in the hands of the man on the right side of the composition is a palm leaf manuscript, the authority of the entire inscription is questioned.[12] Unfortunately, this also throws into doubt the identity of the Indian men in the composition. Perhaps they were the Kavali brothers, but this is impossible to verify. Laksmiah Brahmin would have been a young man at the time the portrait was painted and he was Mackenzie's head translator at that time, so he would have been an obvious person to include in the composition. One could hazard a guess that in keeping with his role as head translator, Laksmiah might be the man on Mackenzie's left holding the palm leaf manuscript.

Another important aspect of Mackenzie's identity that the portrait by Thomas Hickey alludes to is his military role. Mackenzie was painted wearing his East India Company uniform, as it was the Company to whom he owed his career in India. From the time of his arrival in India in 1783 right up to 1812, when Mackenzie was in his mid-fifties, he took part in numerous military campaigns. Most significantly, these were the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars, the Siege of Pondicherry, the invasion of Ceylon, and the Java campaign. During all of these campaigns he gathered drawings and documents for his collections while he made maps and plans in his capacity as a Military Engineer. Oddly, he rarely integrated information directly about these campaigns into the information he gathered for his collections. It is as if the reason why he went to these places was incidental and his focus was on gathering material of interest for researchers. He rarely expressed opinions about his military duties in his private correspondence, except when campaigns infringed upon his time to gather and organize information. From this we can surmise that he viewed his military duties as secondary to his scholarly pursuits. At the same time, however, we know from the portrait by Thomas Hickey, in which he wears his East India Company uniform, that his role within the East India Company was an undeniable part of his identity.

Mackenzie was faithful to two different and seemingly contradictory establishments. First, he was a servant of the East India Company. Without his colonial masters, he would never have ventured to India. From both the perspective of a military man and an antiquarian collector, he was devoted to providing information to the Board of Directors in London and to his East India Company colleagues in India. Second, he held his Indian translators in high regard and recognized many of them as skilled individuals. His collections and writings indicate the elevated status he gave to local knowledge and the esteem with which he regarded the men responsible for gathering this information. To scholars today, to find an individual who is loyal to both the East India Company and to indigenous scholars feels contradictory. However, this fusion of allegiances should not confound us. As seen in his portrait, there was clearly no contradiction in Mackenzie's mind between being a servant of the East India Company and a researcher who valued and respected the work of the Indian men he employed.

Notes and References

1. The URL for the catalogue of India Office Select Materials is currently http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/indiaofficeselect/welcome.asp
2. Add.Or.4496—View of Old and New towns of Gaya by Bhavani Baksh. Archer assigned it the shelf mark WD2620, which was later changed to Add.Or.4496.
3. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. III, p. 313. These names correspond with signed drawings in the Mackenzie Collection.
4. Mss Eur C 476.
5. There are three Kittoe albums containing drawings signed by Pyari Lal, Mahesh Lal, Ganesh Lal, and Girdhari Lal. These are WD2876, WD2877, and WD2878.
6. P. Rohatgi, 'Preface to a Lost Collection: The Pioneering art of Francis Swain Ward', *Marg*, vol. XLVI, 1995, pp. 31–52.
7. The BL references for these 10 paintings are F10, F14, F21, F22, F24, F25, F27, F30, F31, and F34.
8. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 449. Quoted from DDn.43.
9. There are three versions of this picture: WD592, WD623, and WD783.
10. BL, F13.
11. S. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 109.
12. The inscription tells us that this palm leaf manuscript is a telescope and until now, this identification has gone unquestioned. See Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 153.

Biographical Notes on Draftsmen and Copyists Employed by Colin Mackenzie

This section gives additional information about the draftsmen and copyists employed by Colin Mackenzie from the 1790s to 1821. As his career progressed, Mackenzie was able to employ more men. The earliest drawings in the Mackenzie Collection were prepared by Colin Mackenzie himself, and the later ones were by the draftsmen he employed.

The amount of biographical information on these individual draftsmen and copyists varies immensely. As one would expect, there is bountiful information about men who came from important families and survived long careers in India, but little is known about the Indian artists, and even less is known about 'native born' men who presumably had no family and died very young.

Each biographical entry is followed by a list of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection by that individual, substantiated either by a signature or an irrefutable connection with a set of signed drawings. These lists of drawings are by no means final. Through this research, I am confident that many of the unsigned drawings in the Mackenzie Collection will eventually be attributed to individual artists. This ongoing research will be added to the British Library's online catalogue of prints and drawings.

Anderson, Thomas (b. 1796)

Anderson was an apprentice at the Surveying School at Madras from 1811–12 and was subsequently employed in the Surveyor General's Office. In 1816–17 he was based at Madras where he produced fair copies of drawings from the Mysore Survey. During the same period he was in the field and prepared a survey map of the village of Akkapalli, Andhra Pradesh, in May 1816. He was also involved with the excavations at Amaravati in 1816–17.

NHD46, f.24	Eurasian Spoonbill. Copied 20 April 1817.
WD1061	Bound volume containing 85 sheets of drawings from Amaravati, 18 of which are by Anderson, dated 1816–17. These are at folios 16, 17, 33, 35, 47, 52, 66, 67, 68, 71-73 and 78-82.

WD2654 Plan of the town and environs of Akkapalli. May 1816.

Barnett, Charles (b. 1800)

Barnett was an apprentice at the Surveying School at Madras from 1811–12. He lived with his mother at Fort St George in 1811 while working in the office of the Commissary General and studying at a reading school.

WD1061 Bound volume containing 85 sheets of drawings from Amaravati. Nine were made by Barnett in 1816–17 and are at folios 38, 39, 50, 51, 56, 57, 60, 61, and 64.

Baksh, Bhavani (fl. 1813)

There are no known biographical dates surrounding the life of Bhavani Baksh. His name is written in Persian script on two pictures[1] collected during Colin Mackenzie's tour of the Upper Provinces in 1813–14. These two signed pictures are part of a set of five drawn in the same hand, depicting monuments and scenery around Gaya.

WD732 East view of the Vishnupada Temple, Gaya. (Plate 30)

WD733 South view of the Vishnupada Temple, Gaya.

WD734 The Mahabodhi Temple at Bodhgaya. (Plate 32)

WD735 A Pala sculpture of Vishnu from Bodhgaya.

Add.Or.4496 Panoramic view of the old and new towns of Gaya. Formerly catalogued as WD2620.

Burke, Marcellus (1792–1865)

Born in June 1792, Burke was the son of Francis and Margaret Burke, and brother of Lucius Rawdon Burke. In 1805 he was apprenticed at Madras, and in 1806 he began his employment with Mackenzie as an assistant surveyor in Madras. In 1811 he became an Assistant Revenue Surveyor. In 1818 he relocated to Calcutta.

Burke was involved with surveys of the Circars in January 1816 and of Guntur in 1817. He travelled from Guntur to Calcutta by land between January and March 1818. From 1818 to 1821 Burke assisted on Bentley Buxton's survey of Cuttack. In January 1821 Burke assisted with the measuring of triangles at Puri.[2] The survey ended in February 1821 due to Buxton's ill health; Buxton wrote 'Mr. Burke also...has been attacked by severe illness, and rendered incapable of resuming duty'.[3] Burke was granted 12 months' leave to go to Madras for his recovery.

Burke married Eleanore Rosalie Meneand in Calcutta on 22 November 1820. In 1822 he was appointed to the Surveyor General's Office, and worked on surveys in Fatehgarh (1823) and the Northwest Provinces (1832). He resigned in 1838 and died in Veprey, Madras in 1865.

WD2656 Triangles extended during a survey of Guntur district, 1817.

WD2705 Map of Sautgarh.

WD1061 Bound volume containing 85 sheets of drawings from Amaravati. Fourteen of them were taken by Burke between September 1816 and April 1817. See folios 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 34, 36, 37, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, and 62.

Buxton, Bentley (1796–1825)

Born on 26 September 1796, Buxton was the son of Thomas Bentley and Anne Buxton of North America. Educated at Addiscombe, 1811–14, he began working for Mackenzie in 1818, when he was appointed to undertake a survey of Cuttack leading to 'a general map of the country and its principal divisions...reserving for future consideration the expediency of undertaking more minute surveys of individual estates and villages'.[4] He was assisted by Marcellus Burke, one of Mackenzie's assistant surveyors in Madras. The survey of Cuttack ended in February 1821 with the collapse of Buxton's health. He died in Singapore on 28 February 1825.

WD2657 View of Gurjaut Hills taken from the fort, Cuttack. 1818, signed 'Ensign Buxton'. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on 1 September 1818, so the picture was drawn at the commencement of the survey, before the promotion.

WD680 Temple procession at Puri dated July 1818. Possibly based on a drawing from Buxton's 1818 survey.

WD779 Pencil sketch of a temple procession at Puri. Dating is ambiguous ('1819? 1820?') but these dates still coincide with Buxton's survey work in Orissa. (Fig. 6.24)

IOR/X/1108 Map of part of Cuttack District, surveyed by Buxton, 1818.

IOR/X/1109 Buxton's triangulation and survey of part of Cuttack District, 1820.

IOR/X/1110 Buxton's survey of Cuttack Province, 1820.

Caldwell, James Lillyman (1770–1863)

Born in Greenwich, James Caldwell was the son of Major Arthur Caldwell, Bengal Engineers. He became an Ensign in the Madras Engineers on 22 July 1789. He was present at the first siege of Seringapatam in 1792, and was wounded at the second siege and capture in 1799.

During the 1790s Caldwell was involved with the survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions. In 1792 he took part in the survey of Baramahal, and in March 1793 he was appointed Assistant Surveyor under Michael Topping on the survey of the Krishna and Godavari deltas. In 1796–7 he surveyed the coast north of Masulipatam and along the River Godavari, and was involved with a drainage repair project at Masulipatam.

This led to his appointment as Superintendent of Tank Repairs in 1797, which continued until 1810, then again from 1813 to 1816. He supervised the survey of Tirunelveli in 1810, subsequently he was appointed the Chief Engineer on an expedition to Mauritius 1810–11. He designed St Thomas Cathedral at Madras, which was constructed by his colleague, Thomas Fiotte De Havilland (1775–1866). In 1837 he returned to England and died in 1863 at the Isle of Wight.

The earliest known drawing by Caldwell is in the Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. It gives a view of Prince of Wales Island, Penang, around 1790.[5]

WD757	View from Anchittidrug, 1791. Probably taken during the survey of Baramahal.
WD678	The Devil's Peak, Kondapalli. Probably taken during the 1797 survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions.
WD1065, f.17	Copy of a Caldwell drawing dated 1802–3 of 'Maha Deva or Siva with his insignia'.
f.18	Copy of a Caldwell drawing of a Shiva sculpture. 'The Tree Shoolum in the right hand and the Lingam on the forehead denote this figure to be a representation of Seevan or Iswar'.
f.20	Copy of a Caldwell drawing of a sculpture. 'Drawing of an Ancient Sculpture by Capt. Caldwell. Copied by John Newman 7 February 1804'.
Mss Eur Mack Gen I, folios 355 and 357.	Drawings of pottery and coins unearthed at a burial site near Chittoor by Caldwell and his colleague, John Garrow, in November–December 1808. There is a drawing by Thomas Fiotte De Havilland which is connected with these investigations.

Cheape, John (1792–1875)

On 3 November 1809 Cheape became an Ensign in the Bengal Engineers. In 1814 he was appointed to survey the Chittagong District. The survey was completed in 1818. Mackenzie made the following comment on Cheape's abilities.

> I really was impressed with the excellent...map of the province of Chittagong...Mr. Cheape has employment in the field where he has sent me specimens...that evince some capacity for those light and comprehensive sketches that are so useful on field service. For regular mapping and provincial details he has shewn his talent.[6]

WD2661	Map of Chittagong, Bengal. 23 January 1818.

De Havilland, Thomas Fiotte (1775–1866)

Born on 10 April 1775, De Havilland was the son of Sir Peter De Havilland, Knight of Havilland Hall, Guernsey. Thomas became an Ensign in the Madras Engineers on 3 May 1793. In 1795 he worked under Major Elisha Trapaud, Senior Engineer, Southern Army. He accompanied Mackenzie to Sri Lanka in 1796 and was Engineer at Coimbatore in 1799–1800, during the Mysore War. In 1801 he went to Egypt to survey the Cairo–Suez desert for water. In 1804, while returning to India, his ship was captured by the French Privateer, 'The Psyche'. He was released the same year in September.

In 1805, after his return to India, he was posted as an engineer with the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force to complete Mackenzie's survey of the Deccan. De Havilland surveyed Adoni for the first time in 1809.[7] There are corresponding drawings of Adoni Fort, dated 1809–10, by Benjamin Swain Ward. These are WD666, WD667, WD668, and WD669. We thus know that Benjamin Swain Ward accompanied De Havilland during that survey.

In 1808 he married Elizabeth de Saumerez (1782–1818). They had two daughters and three sons. In 1819 he became a Civil Architect in Madras and built St Andrew's Church, Egmore from 1818 to 1821. The cathedral was designed by his colleague, James Lillyman Caldwell. De Havilland wrote a book about this work titled *An Account of St. Andrew's Church*. He retired on 20 April 1825 and died on Guernsey on 23 February 1866.

WD649	Drawing of stone schist graves near Chitoor, based on an original drawing by De Havilland. 'View of the Pandeo Coolies at near Chittoor, 1817. Copied from an original Drawing by Major De Havilland, 1817'. This drawing was probably meant to accompany the research of James Lillyman Caldwell. In 1808 he excavated a 'Pandyan Coolie' burial site, an account of which, dated November–December 1808, is in Mss Eur Mackenzie General I, ff.343-353.
WD740	Copy of WD649

Fraser, Edward (1780–1827)

In 1798 Fraser became an ensign in the Madras Engineers and took part in the early stages of the Mysore survey. In June 1801 he surveyed the NW Circars, Ganjam district. He was based at Ichchapur, to the south of Chilka lake.[8] In October 1820 Fraser was based at Puri and received Colin Mackenzie as a guest.

WD1065, f.14	Sculpture of a reclining Vishnu Narayana at Sivasamudram, Karnataka. Dated 1800 and signed by 'E Fraser'. (Fig. 4.1)
WD858	Group of Ghonds in Ganjam District, 1801. (Fig. 6.21)

Gould, John (b. 1800)

Born in March 1800, he was the son of a Sergeant of HM 59th Foot, kd. at Cornelis, Java. He was educated at the Madras Orphan Asylum until 1813, when his apprenticeship began at the Military Asylum in Madras. In July 1817 Gould went to Calcutta with John Mustie and John Newman as Mackenzie's draftsmen.

In January 1821, he was sent to Orissa where he worked on the survey of Cuttack under William Scott, along with John Mustie.[9] On 24 December 1821 he married Charlotte Staines at Delhi. Gould resided at Delhi until 1833 and was a Revenue Surveyor in the Northwest Province until 1841.

WD2880	Drawings of sculpture from Orissa, 1815.
WD2749–2766	Copies of plans of forts in Java made by Gould in June 1816.
WD2701	Map of Kanchipuram, 23 April 1816.
WD1061, f.12	A sculpture from Amaravati drawn on 18 December 1817.
WD753	Map of a temple at Trichur, Cochin, dated 11 June 1816. (Plate 38)

Hamilton, Henry (1786–1826)

Born in 1786, Mackenzie referred to Hamilton as a 'Native Assistant', 'reared originally on the foundation of the late Revenue Surveying School, but trained to the Field, either by the late Mr. Mather or by myself, on the survey of Mysore'.[10]

In March 1807 Hamilton was working as an Assistant Surveyor on the Mysore Survey alongside Benjamin Swain Ward.[11] In 1808 he conducted a survey of Kanchipuram along with William Lantwar. In 1811–12, while Mackenzie was in Java, Hamilton was an Assistant Revenue Surveyor in the Ceded Districts. In February 1816 Hamilton went to Kondapalli to conduct a survey but his work was interrupted in March 1816 when a mob of Pindaris raided his camp and stole his belongings. Soon afterwards he was in Amaravati, drawing plans and drawings of a sculpture connected with that site's excavation. Hamilton's Amaravati drawings are connected with the excavation between September 1816 and August 1817. In 1818 he accompanied Mackenzie to Calcutta. In 1824 he became the Chief Draftsman in the Surveyor General's Office. He died in Calcutta on 6 June 1826 at the age of 41.

WD848	Plan of Amaravati Stupa, June 1817. Sketch in the corner shows an elevated cross-section. A copy of this plan by J. Mustie, dated 26 March 1819, is in WD 1061 (f.8). The elevation corresponding to the same plan is on f.9.
WD1061	Bound volume containing 85 sheets of drawings from Amaravati. 21 were taken by Henry Hamilton between September 1816 and August 1817. See folios 18-19, 22-23, 26, 28-31, 40-41, 43, 45, 48-49, 63, 65 and 74-77.
WD1064, f.111	Sketch of a hero stone found 'east of Coondoor…17th April 1805'.
WD2652	Plan of Amaravati and surrounding area by Hamilton. Missing.
WD2653	Trigonometrical survey of Amaravati and the surrounding area, dated June 1817.
WD2655	Trigonometrical survey of the east side of Kondapalli Circar, dated 31 July 1816. Bezwada and the Krishna river are shown at the lower left corner of the plan.
WD714	Copied pictures of stone bridges drawn 30 September 1818, near Nawa, Jodhpur.
WD838	Plan of a carriage for lifting heavy stones, near Srirangapattnam dated 1 March 1807.
WD839	Front and side views of the same carriage shown in WD838.

Inscribed on front in ink: 'Front View. Side View. March 1 1807 near Somaurpett. Taken in the spot on 1st March 1807 by H. Hamilton'.

WD841	Top view of the same lifting carriage shown in WD838 and WD839.

Ignatio, Christian Andreas (fl. 1816–19)

Christian Andreas Ignatio was one of Mackenzie's Madras-based draftsmen who did not relocate to Calcutta. Mackenzie considered calling Ignatio to Calcutta after John Newman's death in 1818, but eventually decided against it because of 'his ignorant coarseness'.[12]

Most of Ignatio's works are copies, made between 1816 and 1819, of original work by John Newman and Mackenzie. There is a noticeable difference between the style of the four Newman copies and the two Mackenzie copies, suggesting that Ignatio was capable of copying other painting styles. The Mackenzie copies are delicately drawn and make use of pale colours, while the Newman copies use a heavier line and more earth tones.

WD626	View of Vallam, near Tanjore, by Mackenzie, November 1784. Copied by Ignatio in 1817. (Plate 22)
WD683	Northeast view of the Jami Masjid, Cuttack, Orissa. Original by J. Newman, 20 May 1815. Copied by Ignatio in 1819.
WD662	South view of Bellamconda fort, September 1788. Original by Mackenzie. Copied by Ignatio, 21 August 1816.
WD663	East view of Bellamconda Fort, September 1788. Original by Mackenzie. Copied by Ignatio, 21 August 1816. (Plate 37)
WD650	The Pir Masjid and hill near the Dolphin's Nose, at Visakapatnam. 24 June 1815. Original by Newman. Probably copied by Ignatio.
WD659	North view of the temple and gateway at Dacheram with part of the tank before it. 21 July 1815. This is probably an Ignatio copy of a Newman original. The same kind of paper was used for WD660, 662, and 683.
WD660	Northwest view of the Dolphin's Nose, Visakapatnam. Copied by Ignatio, 7 July 1817. Original probably by Newman.
WD1067 f.28	Copper plate from Halla Canara drawn by C. Ignatio. Pencil sketch of three plates bound together.
WD1067 f.103	Inscription on a stone fragment from Banavasi, 1806. Drawn by John Newman. *Fac Simile of Ancient Characters on a Fragment of Stone brought from Banawassee 1806. J.G. Newman. Examined by C Ignatio 15th March 1808. Done by Newman.* Copy in Mss.Eur.18 A, folio 155.
WD861	Pilgrims carrying holy water at Mogul Sarai. Copy of a sketch made in 1814 by John Newman. (Fig. 6.17)
WD899	Inscribed stone called Batu Tulis near Buitenzorg (western Java), giving the date of the founding of the capital of Pajajaran (AD 1333). Original by J. Flikkenschild, 1812. Copied in 1816.
NHD46	11 drawings of animals in an album of natural history drawings at folios 4, 8, 11-14, 17, 22, 23, 41, and 57.

Lal, Pyari (fl.1819–53)

Pyari Lal was one of Mackenzie's Calcutta-based copyists. He began working as an artist and draftsman for Colin Mackenzie in 1819 and possibly accompanied him to Orissa in 1820.

After Mackenzie's death Pyari Lal continued working as a draftsman in the Surveyor General's Office. Under Major General John Anthony Hodgson (1777–1848), the Surveyor General from December 1822 to March 1823, Pyari Lal produced a book of sketches.[13] He also produced drawings for Markham Kittoe, the Archaeological Enquirer to Government in the Northwestern Provinces from 1848 to 1853.[14]

WD685	Ruined temple at Kishanpur, Orissa. Original drawn 8 March 1815. Copied 31 July 1819.
WD722	Old house at Ghireti, Chandranagore, Bengal. January 1820.
WD1066, f.41	Pillar inside the temple at 'Dracheram' drawn 13 January 1815.
WD1061, f.84	A sculpted railing stone from Amaravati, 27 August 1819. (Fig. 6.20)

Lantwar, William (fl. 1807–12)

Son of Captain William Lantwar of the Madras Artillery (d.1789), William Lantwar was a student in the Madras Orphan Asylum. At the age of 11, after residing at the orphanage for six years, he taught reading, writing, and arithmetic to classes with up to nine pupils.[15]

In 1790 he was apprenticed to the East India Company as a surveyor.[16] In 1807 he became a surveyor for Mackenzie. He trained other surveyors who worked under Mackenzie, including John Newman.[17]

Mackenzie wrote the following letter on 18 July 1810 on William Lantwar's behalf.

> I beg to enclose the application of a young lad, the son of a deceased Capt. Lantwar of your Corps for a grant of a house at the Mount built by his deceased father. A plan of the ground accompanies, taken by the young man himself. His mother is married to some European at the Mount, and can give you the necessary information. I have taken pains to get it this length to enable the poor people to establish their right to the property, and I dare say you will readily concur in doing this service to the family of an officer of your own Corps.[18]

In 1811 Lantwar accompanied Mackenzie on the Java campaign as a Sub-Assistant. There are undoubtedly many drawings in the Mackenzie Collection by William Lantwar, both from Java and from India, but none were signed.

Macleod, John (1794–1823)

Bombay Engineers. Ensign, 25 October 1811; Lieutenant, 26 January 1819.

In 1813 he went from England to Bombay, where he was employed as a draughtsman with the revenue survey. From 1813 to 1815 he worked on a survey of Bombay and Salsette Island.

WD2660	Plan of the fort at Satara, Bombay Presidency, probably 1813.

May, John Stuart (fl. 1819)

John Stuart May was a Civil Surveyor in Bengal from 1818 to 1840. On 1 January 1819 he was appointed as a draftsman in the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta. In January 1820 Mackenzie hired him to transcribe William Lambton's memoirs. The following year Mackenzie promoted May to the post of a Sub-Assistant to fill the vacancy created by John Newman's death.

WD1068, f.11.	Mamallapuram Album. Southeast view of the ruinous temple north of 'Mavellaporam Rock'. Copied by J.S. May, 13 April 1819. Original by J. Newman, 30 July 1816. (Plate 28)

Monisse (fl. 1800–1)

We have little information about Monisse, except that he worked for Mackenzie as a draftsman in the early stages of the Mysore survey. Mackenzie names Monisse as a draftsman in a letter to Thomas Arthur dated 20 May 1801.[19]

We know conclusively of only one drawing by Monisse, showing the elephant stables at Vijayanagar. The date of this drawing and the location of the site suggest that Monisse was employed as a draftsman when the majority of the drawings in the 'Costumes in Balla Ghaat'[20] album were collected. At some point in 1801 Monisse took an eight-month leave of absence, after which, he did not return to the field.[21]

WD589	Abdullah, Shaikh (fl. 1818–19), after Monisse; Ruins of the 'Elephant Stables' at Vijayanagar. Copy of an original drawing by Monisse dated 1801.
WD781	Rowley, George (fl. 1797–1803); Ruins of the 'Elephant Stables', Vijayanagar. Copy by Rowley of an original drawing by Monisse, 1801 (see Fig. 3.16)
WD2619	'Front Elevation of the Elephant Stables at Alputtun or the Ruins of the City of Beejanagur'. Another copy of Monisse's drawing of the Elephant Stables.

Mustie, John (b. 1798)

Son of Sergeant Mustie, he was educated at the Madras Orphan Asylum until December 1813, when his education as a surveyor began at the Military Asylum, Madras. In 1817 he went to Calcutta with two other draftsmen (Newman and Gould) as part of Mackenzie's entourage.

He worked in Orissa as a surveyor in January 1821. William Scott, who was in charge of the survey work at Puri in 1821, made the following comment about John Mustie and John Gould. 'Mustie and Gould seem to behave and conduct themselves with circumspection; they have not as yet given me any cause to reprimand them....As for the rest, they are wild, and seem to care little of what they are about'.[22] In 1822, after Mackenzie's death, Mustie went to Delhi.

WD901	Plan of site in Java copied by Mustie in 1817. Original by J. Flikkenschild, 1813.
WD902	Another Mustie copy of a Javanese plan after Flikkenschild.
WD903	And another.
WD2692	Map of Goomerapoondy(?) by Mustie. No date.
WD2696	Map of Porto Novo by Mustie. No date.
WD2697	Same map as WD2696 but on a larger scale. No date.
WD2698	Map of Red hills and tank with villages of Connoor and Corembet. No date.
WD1067, f.61	Figure of a cross and dove with a Syrian inscription below. Possibly a tomb stone from a Syrian Christian cemetery. Drawn by John Mustie.
WD1068	Mamallapuram album, pictures copied by Mustie in April 1819, possibly based on Newman originals, July 1816.

Najibullah (fl. 1819–24)

One of Mackenzie's Calcutta-based copyists. In February 1824, almost three years after Mackenzie's death, he was still employed as a draftsman in Calcutta.[23]

WD1061, f.83 Part of the stone railing from Amaravati, drawn by Najibullah at Calcutta, 22 April 1819. This sculpture is now in the India Museum, Calcutta.

Newman, John (d. 1818)

John Newman's date of birth is unknown. Mackenzie described him as 'one of the best draftsmen' in his employment. He also described him as a 'half-caste', indicating that he was probably of mixed race.[24]

In 1808/1810 John Newman was recruited as a draughtsman and began his instruction at the Military Asylum in Madras. In 1810 he was sent to take part in the survey of the Ceded Districts under the direction of Henry Hamilton. In 1811 he accompanied Mackenzie on the Java campaign as his personal draftsman. After the Java campaign, Newman accompanied Mackenzie to Calcutta, and in late 1813, went with Mackenzie and Lady Hood on the Tour of the Upper Provinces (1813–14). In 1815, he travelled overland to Madras, passing through Orissa.

In July 1817 Newman went back to Calcutta as part of Mackenzie's establishment as Surveyor General, but he died the following year. Upon his death, Mackenzie wrote, 'I am sorry for poor Newman's fate, the only man I had who understood perspective to some degree. We shall have no want of draughtsmen, but I shall miss him as one of my own rearing, that I took a pride in'.[25] Newman was eventually replaced by John Stuart May in 1820. Ignatio was also considered for the job, but for reasons of personality, Mackenzie decided against his appointment.[26]

Newman worked for Mackenzie as a draftsman, but he also distinguished himself as a copyist. In particular, he copied works by Benjamin Swain Ward, including the painting which was used as the background in Thomas Hickey's portrait of Colin Mackenzie.

WD572 Cornwallis' army marching to Malwakul (Mysore), 26 February 1791. Copy of a missing original. (Plate 23)

WD576 Sravana Belgola by B.S.Ward, dated 17 August 1806. Copied by Newman, April 1816. (Plate 20)

WD592 Another view of Sravana Belgola by B.S. Ward. Dated May 1806. Unsigned copy by Newman.

WD582 Chitradurg by Lt Rowley, 1803. Copied by Newman 11 May 1816. (Plate 12)

WD588 Valley and temple at Ahobilam, June 1810, taken by Ward (original: WD 780). Copied by Newman 1816. (Plate 21)

WD690 Tour of Upper Provinces.View of the island and tomb in the Ganges at Sultanganj, Bihar. 9 February 1814. (Plate 34)

WD861 Pilgrims carrying holy water at Mogul Sarai. Copy by C. Ignatio of a sketch made in 1814 by John Newman. (see Fig. 6.17)

WD862 Maratha ascetic, possibly a Navi Sanyasi, on pilgrimage to Benares; camp scene in background. 24 December 1813.

WD863	A Punjabi Muslim on a pilgrimage to Mecca. 20 December 1813.
WD682	Temple at Jajpur, Orissa. 1815. (Fig. 6.12)
WD683	Northeast view of the Jami Masjid, Cuttack, Orissa. Newman original made May 20, 1815. Copied by C. Ignatio March 1819.
WD684	Jami Masjid, Cuttack, Orissa. 1815. (Plate 36)
WD650	Pir Masjid, Vizag, drawn 24 June 1815. Copy of the Newman original by C. Ignatio.
WD659	North view of the temple and gateway at Dacheram with part of the tank in the foreground. 21 July 1815. Unsigned copy of the Newman original by C. Ignatio.
WD660	Northwest view of the Dolphin's Nose, Visakapatnam. Newman original copied by Ignatio, 7 July 1817.
WD1061	Sketches by J. Newman of the sculptures at Amaravati. The site map on folio 6 of WD1061 indicates that '14 stones [were] drawn by Newman'.
WD831	Note written at Vijayawada. 21 August 1815.
WD953	Drawings from Java dated 1813. (Figs 6.1 and 6.3)
WD1066	Four line drawings of sculptural detail in the temple at Semachullam, 30 June–2 July 1815, at folios 17, 19, 21, and 22.
WD1066	Five line drawings of sculptures at Vijayawada dated August 1815. Folios 25-27, 32, and 33.
WD1067	36 facsimile inscriptions. These are at folios 20, 21, 38, 39, 60, 73, 75-83, 89, 93, 103, and 106–135. (Figs 2.7 and 2.8)
WD1068, f. 11.	A ruined temple north of the Great Rock, Mamallapuram. 30 July 1816. Copied by J.S. May, 13 April 1819. (Plate 28)

Rowley, George (d. June 1803)

On 12 August 1797 George Rowley became an Ensign in the Madras Engineers, where he began as the assistant to James Lillyman Caldwell, the Superintendent of Tank Repairs. It is entirely possible that Rowley learned draftsmanship from Caldwell. Rowley was both a draftsman and a copyist. Evidence of his copying skills is found in a picture of the Elephant Stables at Vijayanagar. He died on 28 June 1803 at a camp near Ahmadnagar.

WD771	North view of Chitradurg drawn in 1803.
WD582	Copy of WD 771 by J.G. Newman, made on 11 May 1816. (Plate 12)
WD675	View of Pune showing the river, the Resident's gardens, and the temple of Parvati, c.1803.
WD676	A cave temple near Pune, probably drawn in 1803.
WD1065, f.22	Study of a sculpted column in the Great Pagoda, Vellore, in 1803. 'Copied from a drawing by Mr. Rowley'. Name of copyist not given.
WD751	Elephant Stables, Vijayanagar, copied in 1803. The original from which his is based was made by Monisse in 1801. (Fig. 3.16)

Ravenshaw, William (1781–1825)

Son of J.G. Ravenshaw of Easthampstead, Berkshire and Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Withers. He became an Ensign in the Madras Engineers on 30 January 1796. On 12 August 1802 he was appointed to work with Mackenzie. In 1803 he was in Cuttack, surveying the route march of Colonel. Cuppage's force. In 1805 he was appointed to work on the Mysore survey.

Promoted to Captain, Madras Engineers, 6 April 1810 and employed in Malabar and Canara as surveyor to the Travancore Subsidiary Force. He was married in Madras in 1814 and died on board ship on the Madras Roads, 5 January 1825.

WD653	Kondavid Durg, 1804.
WD739	Kondavid Durg, 19 February 1804.
WD580	Shimoga, 27 August 1805.
WD1064, f.40	Shimoga, carved wood door, August 1805.
WD577	Mysore Bull, 1806.

Saxton, Benjamin (b. 1803)

In 1818 Saxton moved from Madras to Calcutta as one of Mackenzie's apprentice surveyors. He had previously been apprenticed to John Riddell (1785–1818) of the Madras Infantry for seven years. He continued working in the Surveyor General's Office in Calcutta after Mackenzie's death.

WD1067, f.136	Five copper plates on a ring. 'Sketch of Copper Plates at Tungregoonta. Copied by B. Saxton'.
NHD46, f.46	The Mugger or Marsh Crocodile, a Praying Mantis and a Spider.
NHD46, f.61	A Colubrid snake, perhaps meant to be a Ratsnake.
WD868	A Rajput from Patla, Bengal, 24 March 1820.

Smith, Robert (1787–1873)

Robert Smith was a prolific draftsman and artist in northern India from 1805 to 1830. He began working in the Bengal Engineers and became a Field Engineer with the Bengal Division in 1810. After taking part in the capture of the Mauritius (1810–11), he became ADC to Sir George Nugent, the Commander-in-Chief in India. In 1813–14 he surveyed Mirzapur. In 1814 he became Superintending Engineer in Prince of Wales Island (Penang), where he returned in 1818.

Smith never worked directly with Mackenzie, but copies of six maps prepared by him are in the Mackenzie Collection. We know these maps are copies of works by Smith because they were kept in a folder inscribed *Plans of Forts and Passes on the South West Frontier of Bengal. Copied from the Original by Lieut. Robt. Smith of the Engineers.*[27]

WD2664-2669	Six sheets of maps copied from originals by Robert Smith. Made during a survey of Mirzapur, south of Varanasi, conducted between March 1813 and May 1814.

Sydenham, Benjamin (1777–1828)

Born in Madras in 1777, he was the son of Lieutenant William Sydenham and Amelia. Along with his younger brother Thomas, he joined the Madras army in 1794. Benjamin began working with Mackenzie in December 1795, when he joined Mackenzie's forces at Ramnad on the expedition to Colombo. In 1798 he was appointed to assist Mackenzie's survey of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions. On 16 December of the same year he left Hyderabad, along with Mackenzie, and accompanied the Nizam's army to Ambur, where they arrived on 21 February 1799.

The Mackenzie Collection holds five pencil-and-ink sketches by Benjamin Sydenham which he drafted in Nellore Circar in late March 1798. These have been identified as his work and dated because WD655 (the only dated drawing in the group) was worked into a fair copy[28] which is labelled with his name. These five pictures are of extreme importance when dating Mackenzie's first visit to Amaravati. This is usually dated as occurring on 24 February 1797 because of a published account in the 1807 edition of *Asiatick Researches*[29] in which Sydenham is mentioned as being present. The date of the discovery of Amaravati as relayed in Mackenzie's 1807 article is incorrect. Between 14 February and 3 April 1797 Mackenzie was conducting a survey to the west of Hyderabad. Given that Sydenham was in Nellore Circar on 26 March 1798, and Nellore is close to Amaravati, Mackenzie's first encounter with the remains of Amaravati stupa most likely took place in February 1798. Sydenham died in Bruges on 15 March 1828.

WD632	'View of the Temple at Chingraconda 5 Coss South of Ongole'. Singarayakonda? March 1798.
WD654	Pencil sketch of a European house at Nellore, possibly belonging to Nathaniel Forbes. 1798. (Fig. 1.17)
WD655	Temple at Durasapatam, Nellore. 26 March, 1798. (Fig. 1.16) WD 664 is a copy.
WD656	View of an arched facade, 'Cottapatam' (Kottapeta?), Nellore. 1798.
WD657	View of a building; possibly the same one in WD 656, 'Cottapatam', Nellore. Dated 1798.
WD664	Fair copy of WD 655 based on the 'Original by B. Sydenham'. (Plate 11)

Ward, Benjamin Swain (1786–1835)

Born in India, Benjamin was the son of the painter, Francis Swain Ward (1732–94). On 22 November 1798, at the age of 12, Benjamin was admitted to Observatory Surveying School as an apprentice. In April 1801 he was appointed to the Mysore Survey under Mather, and after October 1804 he worked with Mackenzie. From 1807 to 1809 he worked for Mackenzie in Madras on maps and memoirs of the Mysore survey and on the occasional small field survey. Mackenzie referred to Ward as a 'Native Assistant', 'reared originally on the foundation of the late Revenue Surveying School, but trained to the Field, either by the late Mr. Mather or by myself, on the survey of Mysore'.[30] In March 1809 Ward was sent to Bellary to survey the Ceded Districts, and in 1811–12, while Mackenzie was in Java, Ensign Benjamin Ward was the assistant in the Surveyor General's Office to Mackenzie's acting replacement, Major William Morison. In February 1816

Ward was appointed to head the Travancore Survey. He married 16-year old Johanna Regina Disandt on 24 May 1825 in Cape Town, South Africa. He returned to India with his wife, and later retired to South Africa in 1834. He died in Cape Town on 19 June 1835.

Of all the pictures attributed to Benjamin Swain Ward, only one[31] is possibly an original. All the others are copies of missing Ward originals.

WD576	North view of Sravana Belogola, 17 August 1806.This is a copy of Ward's original by John Newman, dated April 1816. (Plate 20)
WD592	View of Karkala, May 1806, copied by John Newman.
WD623	Copy of WD 592 by a different artist. Unsigned. (Plate 19)
WD783	Pencil sketch copy of 592, 623. Unsigned. (Fig. 4.31)
WD2626–7	Plan and elevation of Mysore fort, October 1806.
WD666, 667, 669	Southeast view of Adoni fort, dated 1809. All three pictures are unsigned copies.
WD668	Southwest view of Adoni fort, 1810. Prepared by the same copyist as WD667.
WD670	Tank and fort of Kairre, Belagul, near Adoni, 1810. Copy of a Benjamin Swain Ward original, probably by the same copyist as WD667, 668.
WD588	Ahobilam, 1810. Original pencil and watercolour sketch by Benjamin Swain Ward with gridlines to help with drafting the picture. (Plate 21)
WD671	Fort of Gani, Kurnool, 1810.
WD672, 673	Northeast view of Bellary Fort, 1810.
WD674	West view of Bellary Fort, 1810.
WD780	Valley and Temple, Ahobilam. June 1810. (Fig. 4.32) WD588 is a copy by Newman dated 1816.

Notes and References

1. WD732 and WD734.
2. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1946–58, vol. III, pp. 361 and 384.
3. Ibid., p.19.
4. Ibid., p.17.
5. Yale Center for British Art, B1975.4.1897.
6. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 433.
7. Mackenzie General 44, f.103.
8. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 123, n.11.
9. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. III, p. 362.
10. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 156, n. 2.
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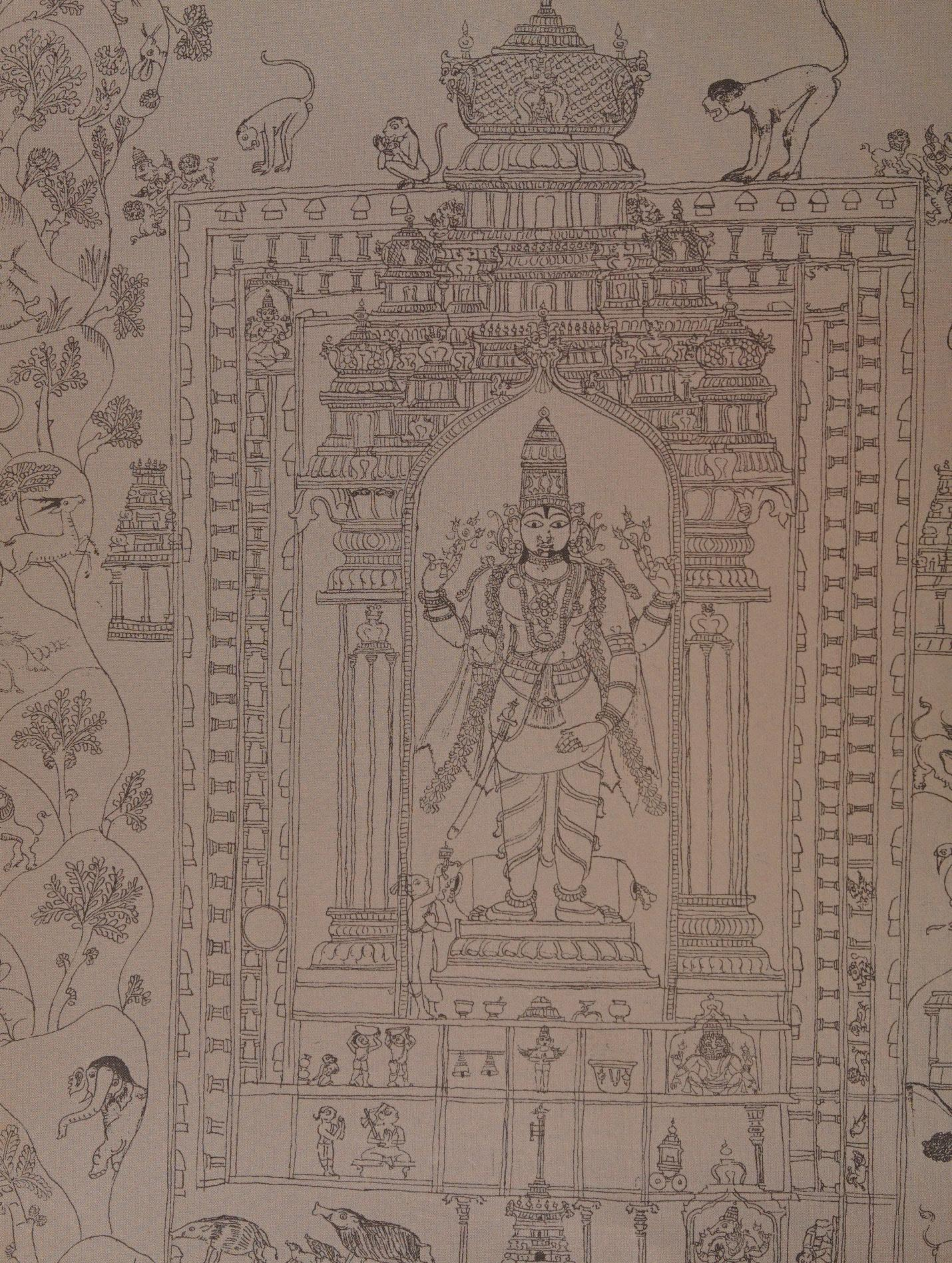

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Well illustrated with sketches, maps, fair copy drawings, and plates, this book will be a significant resource for scholars and researchers of pre- and early colonial India. It will also interest art historians, archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists.

Jennifer Howes is Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs, Asia Pacific & Africa Collections, The British Library, UK.

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